

A SOCIAL HISTORY AND DEMOGRAPHIC INVESTIGATION OF THE CITY
OF WATERLOO, IOWA, WITH RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING
INTERRACIAL RELATIONS AMONG THE CITIZENRY

A Dissertation
Presented to
The School of Graduate Studies
Drake University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Merlin Leo Scholl

December 1976

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An abstract of a Dissertation by
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The problem. The purpose of this study was to determine the various possible contributing factors which led to the social and racial problems confronting the people of Waterloo, Iowa, and to provide recommendations which may help to solve these problems.

Procedure. Historical and social investigation was used to determine the causes and extent of the problems. Such literature as existed in early histories of the area, books on minority group relations and its history, current newspapers and periodicals, interviews and personal experiences were investigated and the findings correlated.

Findings. It was found that the problems grew from the development of the city, the background of its population, and national social changes.

Conclusions. The study indicated that segregation had been brought about by several factors: the physical development of the city, an inability to foresee problems which would be brought about by technological change, a lack of concern by majority and minority individuals, widely different levels of education which produced a large unskilled labor force, and the tendency of like groups to segregate themselves. It was apparent that little effort was being made on a city-wide basis to alleviate any of the problems brought about by segregation; and that, unless individuals were directly involved, few were deeply concerned with the problem. Although the schools had made efforts to find a solution, their efforts were strictly within the school situation; and other facets of community life such as industry, business, churches, and civic organizations were not so involved. The study indicated that the problems could only be solved through total community effort in the areas of social re-education, broad programs aimed at helping people adapt to technological changes, and cooperation on the part of all the citizens in working toward industrial and business expansion on a broad and varied basis.

Recommendations. It was recommended that the first step in solving the problems dealt with individual reeducation and that efforts needed to be made in housing, industry, adult education, city planning, and transportation.

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Chapter 1

OVERVIEW OF STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Improving the relationship among the various racial groups is a social problem facing America today. This investigation will take a close look at one city, Waterloo, Iowa, which is faced with this problem. By studying the characteristics of the inhabitants, from the early settlers to the present population, and by tracing the development of the various industrial, civic, and social segments of the city, it may be possible to reach a better understanding of the causes of racial tension and to suggest, at least insofar as this city is concerned, some procedures which could be implemented to help in bringing about a better understanding among all the peoples who make up its population. Although the seriousness of this problem has only recently been realized, it is necessary to look into the past for the causative factors of the present violence, dissatisfaction, fear, and bigotry.

Since World War II, there has been an increasing awareness of the social inequalities brought about by the involuntary segregation of racial, cultural, and economic

groups within cities.¹ This involuntary segregation has resulted in inequalities of educational opportunities, housing, zoning, location of business and industry, and maintenance of various city services. Many factors have contributed to this situation: first, a lack of foresight and planning by the early founders;² second, man's basic distrust of that which is different; third, the general consistency of the migrant population; and fourth, financial problems brought about by the lowering of the tax base in the so-called "blighted areas," which provides less money to improve or maintain the necessary city services.

¹Segregation, as it exists today, has been largely brought about by ethnic, racial, religious, and national groups entering a new area and settling with others of their own kind. This segregation is, therefore, involuntary on the part of the segregators, the established residents within the community, although it is voluntary on the part of the segregatee--the new resident [Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava, Urban Society (5th ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), passim].

²In the pioneer era, cities grew up basically in locations which offered first, some access to natural transportation; and second, some access to natural power sources. Plats were usually laid out in the sections least useful for agricultural purposes; and, as the city grew and land was added to the original plat to accommodate newcomers that land which had the least use for other purposes was chosen for residential expansion. In the original plat of Gilbertville, for example, the land allotted to industry, principally milling, along the flood plain of the river, was at one time so deeply under water that only the top of the mill smokestack was visible from the bordering area on higher ground. At one time in Waterloo, water covered much of the original plat to such a depth that it was necessary for people to go from house to house in boats [Isaiah Van Metre, ed., History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904), passim].

Waterloo, Iowa, a city of 75,000, is representative of many middle-sized cities facing the problem of involuntary segregation. In many ways, Waterloo can be termed a "mid-city"; it was founded in 1846 about midway through the period of expansion in the United States; it lies in the middle part of the country; it is made up of a middle-income population; it is dependent upon industry for its livelihood as is the average city in this country; it is populated largely by people of Northern European extraction; and it represents the middle class idea of the importance of ownership in that the preponderance of housing is single-unit owner-occupied.

Since the past sometimes determines the present and the future, tracing the growth of such a city may reveal certain conditions which lead to the development of social problems. If these conditions can be discovered and corrected before they become fully developed, it may be possible to prevent serious situations such as the minority unrest prevalent in some cities today.

Desegregation is not a problem which can be solved by a single agency within the society. It is a problem of the society itself, and the solution must come from understanding and effort by every individual, group, and faction within that social structure.

The make up of a given city is often representative, on a smaller scale, of the make up of the nation itself. As

the poet Robinson Jeffers so aptly put it, "America has neither race nor religion nor its own language: nation or nothing."¹ As group after group came to this new country, man's basic distrust of that which is different and the problems caused by different languages and different philosophies led various cultural groups to settle in clusters where the language, religion, and way of life were similar. People coming from countries in proximity to each other had less difficulty in breaking down these barriers because their languages, physical characteristics, and cultures were often more closely related to each other than to those of people who came from more widely separated areas. Consequently, the political differences between people from England and Scotland presented less of a problem in integration than did the differences in culture and physical characteristics between people from the British Isles and people from Southern Europe. Groups from Africa, Central America, the Orient, and the American Indians faced problems of integrating not only cultural and linguistic characteristics but also color and physical characteristics. Even among peoples of the white race, immigrants from Europe tended to settle near those who spoke their language; and conditions of involuntary segregation developed.

¹Robinson Jeffers, "Pearl Harbor," The Double Axe and Other Poems (New York: Random House, 1948), p. 121.

In larger cities, this involuntary segregation is often seen in whole communities from one nation or one race living in a single area. In the smaller cities, the involuntary segregation among groups from the white race is usually much less obvious. When it does exist, it appears only as a larger percentage of a given community being from the same background; and even here it is usually apparent that people from other backgrounds are scattered throughout the area.¹

Today many middle-sized cities are faced with rapidly developing problems caused by involuntary segregation because within the past three decades migration of the blacks from the South to the Northern industrial cities has been increasing. This problem is frequently complicated by a limited area for expansion of housing for this rapidly increasing minority population.

This situation can be seen in Waterloo where minority families tend to import their relatives--parents, brothers, sisters, grandparents, and even distant relatives--North to live with them. These newcomers, from states in the deep South, sometimes can neither read nor write. Most

¹"All the kids in school except us were Danish. Cedar Falls used to be called by some people 'Little Denmark' because there were so many Danish people here." said James Hearst when reminiscing about his early life in Cedar Falls [James Hearst, "Reminiscences," North American Review, CCLIX, No. 3 (Fall, 1974), 40].

of them have little or no training and few skills; these must take unskilled jobs. Frequently, there are other relatives waiting to be brought North; therefore, it is not economically feasible for each family to live in a separate dwelling. In some instances, as many as four generations and four families occupy a one-family house.¹

When blacks first came to Waterloo, they settled in the general area of the Illinois Central Shops in the northeastern part of the city where they were employed by the Illinois Central Railroad.² For many years, this area had a core of black residents in the residential section immediately surrounding the railroad yards. The periphery of this area was of black and white population about evenly divided in numbers and living together quite amicably. As

¹In one known instance, a wife, working as a hospital cleaning lady and her husband, working as a semi-skilled laborer at John Deere had brought up both of his parents and both of her parents and her living grandmother. All were living in the same house: the couple; her grandmother; their parents; their son, his wife, and baby (five generations in a one-family dwelling) [Statement by a local hospital employee (name withheld on request), personal interview, Waterloo, Iowa, October 6, 1973].

²The early settlement of the blacks cannot be termed ecological invasion because the land they settled on had few, if any, residents at the time of their settlement. The early spread of the black population in Waterloo was not a conscious process since the area into which they spread was open to them. Segregation, as it is known today, was not practiced at this time. In the early growth of the area, the succession which took place was again largely involuntary. To a certain extent, this situation changed in later expansion with conscious ecological invasion and pressured succession [Gist and Fava, op. cit., passim].

the black population increased, the core area became larger and finally there were no whites left in what had once been a mixed neighborhood. With the increase of black population, the core area reached barriers in the form of a large city park to the north, factory land to the east, railroad-owned land along the east and southeast sections, and the business district toward the south. The direction of expansion then was limited to the areas which had originally been white and which lay to the southwest and west of the core area. Later expansion came about when the core expanded into residential housing beyond the factory and railroad land toward the east. No expansion has been possible toward the north because city-owned park land and the country club are located here.

The problem caused by an expanding population, when the structure of the city does not allow for expansion, has been further complicated by equal-opportunity-employment legislation and legislation aimed at desegregating schools. Employment legislation has brought about an increasing competition between majority and minority unskilled workers in an economy of expanding technology and decreasing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled employees.

All of these problems appear in Waterloo. The city, founded in 1846, grew up haphazardly as an agricultural community. It later expanded into an industrial community and is populated by people of largely Northern European

extraction with a scattering of other nationalities. It has a rapidly increasing minority population and has serious problems in the areas of integration and housing. The study of this city as it grew and developed should, therefore, establish certain trends peculiar to cities of this type as well as lead to some ideas for the solutions to specific areas of the problem.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this investigation and analysis is to determine, from a social and historical approach, the various possible contributing factors that led to the present problems confronting the people in the city and to provide recommendations which may help to create an atmosphere of understanding, impartiality, and awareness among the total citizenry.

A number of social and demographic problems exist today between the two major racial groups within the city of Waterloo, Iowa.¹ These problems may be due, in part, to a

¹Because Waterloo is contiguous to the communities of Cedar Falls, Evansdale, and Washburn, it is necessary to define certain terms specifically. Waterloo will be used to define that area which lies within the boundaries of the incorporated city of Waterloo. Metropolitan Waterloo will be used to mean that area which includes the incorporated municipalities of Waterloo, Cedar Falls, and Evansdale and the unincorporated communities of Washburn and Elk Run Heights. The boundaries of the Waterloo Community School District do not coincide with the boundaries of the metropolitan area nor with the boundary of the city of Waterloo. See Map p. 296.

lack of understanding, awareness, and acceptance by members of majority and minority groups. An environment of apprehension, bigotry, and antagonism seemingly permeates present-day Waterloo.

The problem of interracial relationships is a serious one. Waterloo has had more racial tension than any other city, larger or smaller, in the state of Iowa.¹ This may be partially due to the fact that Waterloo has the highest ratio of black-to-white population in Iowa.² However, other causal factors need to be recognized and understood. These are: the lack of area for expansion in housing for the black community; the decreasing number of unskilled jobs open to the increasing number of Southern migrants, who are often at best semi-literate and even in some cases illiterate; the voluntary segregation which is practiced by

¹Riots during the summers of 1966 and 1967; school administration office sit-in, spring of 1972; Logan Avenue Plaza picketing, spring of 1972; and other incidents which occurred in Waterloo were not reported in other cities in Iowa at any time.

²According to the 1970 census (see Table 1, p. 10 and Table 2, p. 11), only 2.67 percent of the total population of the state of Iowa lived within the incorporated city of Waterloo while 20.10 percent of the total black population of the state lived here. The black population represents 8.67 percent of the total population of the incorporated city of Waterloo as compared with the 5.70 percent of the population of the city of Des Moines which has the next largest black population in the state [United States Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population. Characteristics of the Population, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 62].

Table 1
 Waterloo Population Growth Comparing
 Black and White Increases
 1840-1970

Year	Total	White	Black	Slave	Percentage of Black ¹
1840					
1850 ²					
1860	1,205	1,205			
1870	4,337	4,329	8		.0018
1880	5,630	5,620	10		.0018
1890	6,674	6,671	3		.0004
1900	12,580	12,560	20		.0016
1910	26,693	26,669	24		.0009
1920	36,230	35,393	837		.0231
1930	46,191	44,977	1,214		.0263
1940	51,743	50,245	1,498		.0290
1950	65,198	62,611	2,587		.0397
1960	71,755	66,943	4,812		.0671
1970	75,533	68,981	6,552		.0867 ³

¹To the nearest one hundredth of one percent.

²These figures are not available in the Federal Census. Waterloo was not yet an incorporated city.

³United States Census. Published each decade 1840-1970.

Table 2
Black Hawk County Population Growth
Comparing Black and
White Increases
1840-1970

Year	Total	White	Black	Slave	Percentage of Black ¹
1840					
1850	135	135			
1860	8,244	8,226 ²	18		.0022
1870	21,706	21,688	18		.0008
1880	23,913	23,876	37		.0015
1890	24,219	24,207	12		.0005
1900	32,399	32,375	22		.0007
1910	44,865	44,836	29		.0006
1920	56,570	55,714	856		.0151
1930	69,146	67,912	1,234		.0178
1940	79,946	78,418	1,528		.0191
1950	100,448	97,825	2,623		.0261
1960	122,482	117,632	4,850		.0396
1970	132,916	126,272	6,644		.0500 ³

¹To the nearest one hundredth of one percent.

²Indians are included in the white population in the Federal Census of 1860.

³United States Census. Published each decade 1840-1970.

Table 3

Iowa Population Growth Comparing
Black and White Increases
1840-1970

Year	Total	White	Black ¹	Slave	Percentage of Black ²
1840	43,112	42,924	172	16	.0044 ³
1850	192,214	191,881	333		.0017
1860	674,913	673,779	1,069		.0016
1870	1,194,020	1,188,207	5,762		.0048
1880	1,624,615	1,614,600	9,516		.0059
1890	1,911,896	1,901,211	10,685		.0056
1900	2,231,853	2,219,160	12,693		.0057
1910	2,224,771	2,209,798	14,973		.0067
1920	2,404,021	2,385,016	19,005		.0079
1930	2,470,939	2,452,677	17,380		.0070
1940	2,538,268	2,521,574	16,694		.0066
1950	2,621,073	2,601,381	19,692		.0075
1960	3,757,537	2,782,709	25,354		.0092
1970	2,824,376	2,791,780	32,596		.0115 ⁴

¹Free colored.

²To the nearest one hundredth of one percent.

³Percentage of total free colored and slave.

⁴United States Census. Published each decade 1840-1970.

the minority community; the tendency among certain members of the black community to bring relatives from the South; the tendency of these black families to crowd several related families into one-family dwellings; and the fact that, in outlying areas such as Evansdale, Washburn, and Cedar Falls, very little rental property is available and the minority population in many cases are using or are saving money for other purposes and, therefore, have neither the necessary down payment nor the necessary credit rating to obtain ownership of property outside the already black area.

The large percentage of minority population living in a single area leads to a number of problems in the schools. Among these are segregated schools; schools with a high percentage of disadvantaged students; schools in which racial conflicts develop; schools which have a high percentage of less able teachers because of the attitude of the teaching profession toward those people who teach disadvantaged children; the large amount of money required to properly equip a school with a high percentage of disadvantaged because of the wider range of materials required; and the problem presented by trying to provide basic experiences to children coming from homes where the parents are illiterate or semi-literate.

The education of the child can be defined as the total of his experiences both in and out of school.

Providing an education which will enable children of semi-literate or illiterate parents to compete favorably with children from advantaged homes requires a large outlay of money. Designing a curriculum and organizing a school system which will, as nearly as possible, meet the needs of all the students, requires an understanding of their backgrounds as well as an understanding of the educational processes.

Educators are faced with the problems of segregation both as teachers and as citizens of the community. They face the problems of segregation in trying to build an awareness and understanding of the problems of others in both their majority and minority students. However, they are also faced with the problems of segregation in that they are human beings, and, therefore, subject to the same pressures as other members of the community. Probably the educators face the most difficult problem in society, because they are, as are all people, first of all human beings, and, secondly, educators. Society frequently demands that they be, as educators, unaffected by the drives which are basic to human beings.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

An in depth investigation of the development of Waterloo from its founding to the present time may help to clarify the reasons why a situation of racial unrest and

tension has arisen in this city, particularly within the past decade. Many large cities have experienced increasing racial unrest as minority groups seek more recognition.¹

This unrest has not been limited to the megalopolis but has also been seen in many of the smaller cities. Extensive in-migration to industrial cities has brought about increased majority-minority pressures in all cities.

The reasons behind the unusual situation in Waterloo, a city without a residential inner-city area, are obscure.² It is possible that this problem may have been

¹Probably one of the factors which has contributed a great deal to this situation has been the factor of slowly increasing economic opportunities for groups from minority races. Before 1865, the position of the Negro was largely one of slave status, or, in the North, the status of paid servant, since this group had neither the education nor the acquired skill to attempt to move to a higher economic plane. Since 1865, Negroes have, in the North particularly, had better opportunities to obtain both education and skill so that those with the most personal drive have moved up into professions and skilled labor positions. Basically, the difference between the Negro and the Oriental in our present society may be traced to a difference in religious philosophy; the Negro having been indoctrinated into the Christian religion which teaches the equality of man, while the Oriental had clung to his religious philosophy which stresses far more acceptance of his role [Gist and Fava, op. cit., passim].

²Because of the original platting of the city of Waterloo--using the Cedar River as the center of the city and running all streets parallel to, or at right angles to, the river--the business district has developed as the inner city and the residential districts have grown up in concentric circles around this business district. The business district, consequently, has had no expansion room; and the residential district has tended to develop with the more expensive housing areas moving farther and farther from the center of the city.

brought about by any of these factors: geographical, historical, and/or social. Through tracing, defining, and studying these factors, it may be possible to isolate certain situations which could be corrected without too much reorganization of the basic city. City planning, in areas where small towns are being incorporated into the larger metropolitan area, may locate or relocate industry away from residential areas. Urban renewal and Federal housing projects may be concentrated in areas where slum conditions are developing. Special educational projects for adults in the areas of home maintenance and budgeting may be helpful. It is certain that no problem in human relations can be solved until its causes are known.

Northern cities appear to be in the midst of a wave of minority migration. After 1865 the migration of the black race toward the North began; and this migration has continued sometimes more slowly, sometimes more rapidly, over the past hundred years. Because the early percentage of black population was so small, little notice was taken of segregation. It rarely appeared in elementary schools surrounding the black area because all the students from the black residential area did not attend the same school.

This problem is further complicated by the amount of land, originally at the edge of the city, which has been zoned commercial and which is now occupied by major industries such as Rath Packing Company, John Deere Tractor Works, Chamberlain Corporation, and other, smaller, industries. See Map p. 295.

This continued to be the situation in Waterloo until the beginning of the decade following World War II. The decades from 1950 to 1970 showed such a rapid increase in the number of black migrants that both overcrowding and school segregation became situations of major concern.¹ In each decade following 1950, the black population in Waterloo increased by approximately 2,000. It is natural that such an increase in any one segment of the population brought problems in housing and overcrowding of schools. Since the group that was increasing was a minority group, situations which prior to this time had been so insignificant that they attracted no attention in the schools suddenly assumed major proportions. The minority population was increasing. In order to continue involuntary segregation, majority families were leaving the area to find housing elsewhere. Public elementary schools which had had a low minority population began to show percentages of minority children exceeding 80 percent.

The problem was further complicated by the fact that the area in which the blacks had originally located was bounded on two sides by industry and city-owned property making expansion beyond a certain point in these directions impossible. This problem of increasing black population in Waterloo brought about population problems in other areas

¹See Table 1, p. 10.

of the city as well as in the small towns surrounding Waterloo. People who were relocating from formerly mixed areas and from all-white areas surrounding the black community moved outward along the edges of the city or, in some cases, moved into the outlying towns thus bringing population expansion problems to these areas as well.

An investigation in depth of the development of Waterloo from its founding to the present time may help to clarify reasons why this situation has arisen, particularly within the past decade. The results of such an investigation may be useful not only in planning over-all school building location and curriculum development but also in laying the basis for some workable program of school desegregation.¹ Such a study may also aid in city planning where changes in land use are feasible.

SCOPE OF STUDY

This study will investigate the industrial, civic, and social aspects of the city of Waterloo from its origin to the present time. The problem of segregation is related to every aspect of human life in which there is contact,

¹Busing does not appear to be a workable situation at the present time in many areas. In Waterloo, it has led to the formation of the Neighborhood School Association which today claims 9,000 members and anyone reading the current news is well aware of the reaction of Bostonians and of their resentment to such a program ("School Race in Waterloo," Des Moines Register, August 2, 1974, p. 8).

forced or accidental, among peoples.

Segregation is not entirely a school problem. Since the very physical facts of segregation are directly related to housing within the community, the solutions for the problems caused by segregation must be found in the community as a whole. In studying this situation in the city of Waterloo, it is necessary to consider a number of seemingly unrelated facts. As early as 1911, Waterloo had segregation since, even at this time, all the minority members of the community were living in a small, centralized area. The riots and violence of the late 1960's and early 1970's brought segregation national attention; however, this does not mean that there was no such thing as segregation prior to this time.

This study deals with the problems of segregation in the city of Waterloo and their effect upon every unit of the society--metropolitan, educational, societal, and industrial. In order to understand these problems, it is necessary to go into the history of the city and to investigate ways in which, through its formation and growth, such problems came about.

Waterloo is unique in the fact that, where today one city exists, the actual formation of the city indicates that the early settlers may have had in mind a twin-city concept rather than one integrated town. This situation is reflected in the fact that only one half of the city has an

integration problem. In order to find solutions for the problems of segregation, it is necessary to follow the train of development and look for ways in which the problems were brought about.

Segregation is reflected in industry and business as well as in society and the schools. It is necessary to look at Waterloo's civic, industrial, social, and educational growth to see if it may be possible to make some changes resulting in desegregation and a better understanding between races. It is fully understood that such a vast undertaking will not be possible in one lifetime; however, it may be possible to begin a program which will bring about community-wide awareness of the possible solutions to this problem. In the future, all people in the community working together may be able to, in time, find understanding.

It is realized, of course, that the most pressing problems are those brought about by destruction of property and loss of life. An awareness of the problem on the part of the citizens of Waterloo would, perhaps, help to put an end to riots and violence which serve no useful purpose and help to channel that energy into finding peaceful solutions to the problems.

Because of the close proximity of the outlying towns, it is necessary, since these residents are involved in the industrial and social life of Waterloo, to include them in any solution which may be proposed.

In studying the problems of segregation in Waterloo, it is necessary to use books written by early settlers; books written about Waterloo by blacks and by scholars; materials published by civic organizations and the Chamber of Commerce; local records from county and civic agencies; local newspapers, both past and present; and interviews with people who have lived in the city, and people who have been, or are, involved in political and civic governing bodies.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

In order to avoid confusion, it will be necessary to make certain basic assumptions. Some of these assumptions are included to call the reader's attention to the ways in which information he already possesses will be used. Other assumptions are included because they serve to relegate various facets of the problem to their proper positions within the whole structure of society. When majority-minority relationships are examined in detail, they tend to assume an importance which may overshadow all other social problems. When a city is discussed definitively, that city tends to become isolated from all other cities. When the schools are examined critically, it often results in the mistaken attitude that the schools alone are responsible for the formation of the human personality. No single element within the social structure functions independently;

therefore, it is necessary to remind the reader that the following will be adhered to as much as possible.

It is assumed that the majority of people the world over are motivated by the same psychological needs, wants, and desires.

It is assumed that the make up of Waterloo is largely the same as the make up of any other city of the same size which depends to the greatest extent upon manufacturing industries for its livelihood. The ways in which Waterloo differs are basically due to the ways in which this city has developed. The population of the city is representative of the population of any city of like size and type.

It is assumed that the problems of the present often have their roots in the past and that the growth and development of a city laid the foundation for the problem of segregation.

It is assumed that the problems faced by Waterloo are basically the same as those faced by any other city which is surrounded by little or no unimproved land for expansion and that the solutions found for the problems of Waterloo will be, with modifications, applicable to any other city in a similar situation.

It is assumed that a city is only an aggregate total of the people who make it up. Therefore, it is necessary to stress those ways in which people and the types of people involved operate and cooperate both as individuals and as groups.

It is assumed that, since the school is only a part of the total community and since the parents' feelings, prejudices, and opinions become an integral part of the child before he reaches the influence of the public school, it is necessary to understand the total community. Only one of the race disturbances in this community has had any beginning in the public school; all of the other racial problems which the school faces have been an outgrowth of community disturbances.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Since the problems of the present often have their roots in the past, a study of the city of Waterloo, Iowa, its early population; the geographic development; the growth of its industries; the characteristics of its population; and the basic assumptions of the people within the city may help to give a greater understanding of the basis of the present situation. Such a study may also give some clues which can be used to begin finding acceptable solutions for the problems--particularly in the field of interracial understanding in Waterloo and, perhaps, in other cities.

In considering the development of the city, it is perhaps simplest to use the actual organization--its historical development--as a basis for organizing the study. Through this type of organization, it may be possible to see the underlying causes for the location of such different

segments as residential, industrial, and business within the city. This type of organization may also help to point out those aspects of the problem which are not apparent when only the present is studied.

It has been interesting to note, for example, the pattern in the increase of the black population in Waterloo, which is not representative of the pattern of increase of population for the entire state. Such an increase, unplanned for, certainly would bring about problems--particularly in the fields of housing and employment. It is also interesting to note that this population movement is insidious. Under these conditions, with an increase going on slowly year after year, it is almost impossible for the population of the city to see any development until suddenly they are presented with a problem which seems to be almost insoluble.

The study, therefore, will be arranged chronologically, and will cover, basically, the development of the city of Waterloo from its earliest settlers to the present time. It will refer to population increases and movements of people outside Waterloo including the development of Black Hawk County and of the State of Iowa when it is necessary to use this information to obtain a proper perspective for the problems faced by this city.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

A number of terms will be used in this study in the discussion of the growth of the city and surrounding areas as well as in the discussion of the relationship of various segments of the population. In order to facilitate easy location these are arranged in alphabetical order as follows:

Addition is the term usually used to describe an area of land after it has been platted. This term is a legal designation used for the purpose of distinguishing it in the County Recorder's office from any other area so platted. After land has been platted, it is given a name unlike any name already used, such as Pleasant Addition or Second Galloway Addition. Until such land goes through the process of urban renewal or in some way is changed legally, the legal description of that land will remain Lot blank, Block blank, blank Addition.

Annexation is the term used to indicate an area of land which has formerly been outside the boundaries of an incorporated city and is, through legal action by the city council, brought into the area encompassed by the city boundaries. This is the method by which cities expand.

Attitude is "An acquired, or learned, and established tendency to react toward or against something or somebody. . . ."¹

¹Henry P. Fairchild, ed., Dictionary of Sociology (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1944), p. 18.

Bias is "A condition tendency to favor and support a certain point of view or conclusion despite the absence of adequate or even any evidence; a disposition to reject evidence that conflicts with a preconceived conviction. . . ." ¹

Bedroom cities is a term which applies to those cities closely bordering Waterloo where the majority of that city's residents find employment within the boundaries of Waterloo.

Behavior is "The manner of acting in a given situation." ² The basis for this behavior may be influenced by any of a number of intrinsic or extrinsic factors.

Belief is "The acceptance of any given proposition as true. Such acceptance is essentially intellectual, although it may be strongly colored by emotion. In any case, it establishes a mental condition in the individual which may serve as the basis for voluntary action. The reality of belief is not dependent upon the intrinsic, objective truth of the particular proposition. . . ." ³

Busing is the term applied to the process of moving students within a school district from one area of the city to a distant area for the purpose of achieving a racial balance within various schools.

Class is "A totality of persons having one or more

¹Ibid., p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Ibid., pp. 23 f.

common characteristics; a homogeneous unit within a population; one category in a series by which persons may be classified. . . ."¹

Concentration is the term used to refer to "The process in which people tend to come together in limited areas for social purposes such as living, working, recreation. . . ."²

Demography is "The statistical analysis and description of population aggregates, with reference to distribution, vital statistics, age, sex, and civil status, either at a given time, or over time."³

Desegregation is the act of bringing together or integrating groups of people who have previously been segregated.

Discrimination is "Unequal treatment of groups of basically equal status. Discrimination carries with it the element of unfair, unreasonable and arbitrary distinction in the imposition of burdens and the distribution of favors. . . . Whether differentiations are regarded as discriminatory or not depends on the denial or recognition of . . . gradations in a given society. . . ."⁴

Dispersion is the term used to describe "The

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²Ibid., p. 56.

³Ibid., p. 90.

⁴Ibid., p. 280. Defined as "social discrimination."

primitive form of population movement. . . . It is regulated largely by the conditions of the physical environment and represents fundamentally an almost instinctive escape from population pressure. It is a movement of expulsion rather than of attraction, having no true destination. It is exceedingly gradual, so slow that those participating in it are not conscious that any true movement is taking place."¹

Ethnic is the term used to refer to those things which bind together and identify by ties and traits groups of a common origin, race, or nationality.²

Foreign born population is applied to those people who were born outside the continental limits of the United States and who arrived in the area with little or not knowledge of the language having come directly or almost directly from the country of their nativity.

History is a chronicle of the past, including the investigation, correlation, and narration of its happenings.

Human ecology is the term used to refer to "That branch of science which treats of the reciprocal relations between man and environment. . . ."³

Immigrant is used to designate those people who come

¹Ibid., p. 96.

²Ibid., p. 109. Definition for "ethnos."

³Ibid., p. 101.

into the area, either state or local, from outside the continental limits of the United States, for the purpose of taking up permanent residence.

Incorporated city is "An urban center chartered as a public corporation¹ with its own system of municipal government and with an extensive municipal administrative apparatus to provide a variety of public services."² For the purpose of distinction the Census Bureau indicates that in Iowa a city is defined as a place "having a population of 2,000 or more."³

Industry is that type of employment which is concerned with producing a product or maintaining a service as opposed to providing a service.

Inner city is the term used to refer to an area which lies within the borders of a city; these areas were covered by early annexations. Inner city is distinguished from "suburbs" in that the inner city is located in close

¹A public corporation is "An artificial person (as a municipality or a government corporation) created for convenience in the administration of public affairs. Unlike a private corporation it has no protection against legislative acts altering or even repealing its charter" [Edward C. Smith and Arnold J. Zurcher, Dictionary of American Politics (2d ed.; New York: Barnes & Noble, Incorporated, 1968), p. 303].

²Ibid., pp. 62 f.

³United States Bureau of the Census, 1972 Census of Governments. Governmental Organization, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 361.

proximity to the early established business district.

Integration is "That social process which tends to harmonize and unify diverse and conflicting units, whether those units be elements of personality, individuals, groups, or larger social aggregations."¹

Interracial is the term applied to the relationship between individuals or groups of different races.

Invasion is the term used to refer to ". . . the entrance into an area of a new class or type and the resultant displacement of certain other classes or types. . . ."²

Involuntary segregation is used here to mean the separating of one or more categories of the population through unconscious selective action of the personnel, through personal preference and cultural influences. This type of segregation is done on the part of the segregatee without conscious thought to the result of his actions.

Laborers is the name applied to those segments of the population which are employed in the manufacturing of the product or the dispensing of a service for a set wage. Laborers include unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled workers as well as some technicians and may be referred to as wage earners.

¹Fairchild, op. cit., p. 159.

²Ibid., p. 162.

Labor force is that element of the population which, through a combination of physical energy and human intelligence contributes to the productive process through a productive activity paid for by someone else.¹

Majority is a term used to apply to that segment of the population of the area which is largely white including people of Jewish extraction, Chinese and other Orientals, American Indians, and those of other nationalities because within the area of the city of Waterloo these groups of people have not segregated themselves.

Metropolitan Waterloo is the area made up of Waterloo and the contiguous incorporated and unincorporated cities.²

Migrant is used in this paper with a limited meaning. This term is used here to designate those people who come from outside the area into the state or into the city for the purpose of taking up permanent residence. Migrants originate in a locality within the continental limits of the United States.

Minority is used exclusively to mean people of the black race and those, though nearly white in color, who

¹Ibid., p. 168.

²At the present time, the suggestion has been made that the metropolitan area of Waterloo encompass all of Black Hawk County and the Census Bureau does regard Metropolitan Waterloo and Black Hawk County as one and the same [Opinion expressed by Robert R. Buckmaster, president, in a television editorial at Waterloo, Iowa, October 27, 1974 (written copy on file in KWVL Radio TV Black Hawk Broadcasting Company Library)].

choose to think of themselves as members of the black race because within this particular area this is the only group which segregates itself.

Plat is the term used to designate an area of land, usually unimproved, which is surveyed, divided into blocks, and building lots of a comparable size, marked with streets and alleys, and then either built on by the land corporation or sold to private ownership for the building of houses. It is the method by which residential districts are established, and it is also the method by which legal description of the property is changed from unimproved land to residential land.

Platted is the term used for land which has gone through the process above.

Prejudice is "An attitude, usually emotional, acquired in advance of adequate evidence and experience. . . ." These attitudes will be referred to as prejudice for the most part only when they apply to attitudes toward people of another race or of another nationality.¹

Professions are those forms of employment which require long periods of college training in order to achieve the necessary ability since the abilities required within the professional fields are largely those which

¹Fairchild, op. cit., p. 229.

center on the ability to draw conclusions, to set priorities, to reason deductively and inductively, and to make specific value judgments before utilizing tools.

Racial tension is the term which applies to feelings of suspicion or strain in the relationships among people of different races. This may be evidenced merely by lack of understanding and feelings of insecurity or by open conflict.

School¹ district is the term applied to an area within distinct boundaries which is set up for the purpose of financing and administering a number of social units devoted specifically to the process of education.

Segregatee is the term used to refer to a group of people who are, through their own or others' voluntary or involuntary actions, set apart or segregated.

Segregation is the act, process, or state of separating or setting apart one or more categories of the population either through conscious social purpose or through unconscious selective action of personal and cultural influences.²

Segregator is the term used to apply to that person or group of persons who, through voluntary or involuntary actions, relegate some other group within the social

¹Ibid., p. 267. Fairchild defines school as "A social unit devoted specifically to the process of education."

²Ibid., p. 269. See definitions for segregate and segregation.

structure to an isolated area.

Semi-skilled labor is that element of the labor force which has acquired the ability to do more complicated tasks requiring specific skills although these tasks may be, and usually are, relatively simple and easily automated.

Skilled labor is that segment of the labor force which has acquired specific technical skills, usually through the process of on-the-job training or apprenticeships. Such skilled labor requires the ability to make value judgments as well as the ability to utilize tools and measuring devices.

Social is the term which has ". . . to do with the reciprocal relations of interacting human beings either as individuals or groups. . . ." ¹

Societal is ". . . having to do with society. Relating to, or characteristic of, any large group or groups that are included within the concept of society. As compared with social, the emphasis of the term societal is upon group structure and functioning, rather than upon associational relationships." ²

Sociological is ". . . having to do with the scientific study of the phenomena of human associations. . . ." ³

¹Ibid., p. 275.

²Ibid., p. 99.

³Ibid., p. 301.

Stereotype is a ". . . Group-accepted image or idea, usually verbalized and charged with emotion. . . ." It is ". . . caricaturized conception of a character, personality, aspect of social structure, or social program which stands in the place of accurate images in our minds."¹

Suburbs is a term which refers to areas which were platted and annexed more recently and which lie in close proximity to the outer borders of a city having been acquired during the most recent annexations. These areas are frequently marked by certain civic situations: they have not yet received public transportation, or they lie at or beyond the present limit of public transportation; all public services such as telephones and electrical lines are laid underground; alleys do not exist; and sidewalks are frequently lacking. These areas are frequently developed with greater percentages of paved streets and planned blocks than are those which lie closer to the heart of the city.

Succession is the term used to describe ". . . the order in a series of occupations as one species in a habitat is forced out or replaced by another."²

Technicians are that segment of the labor force which has usually some college or training school background and whose occupation requires the ability to draw

¹Ibid., p. 308.

²Ibid., p. 312.

conclusions and make judgments over the ability to use tools and measuring devices with utmost skill.

Unskilled labor is that segment of the labor force which has no training for any particular kind of wage-earning activity and which, in many cases, lacks either sufficient education or sufficient initiative to acquire such training. Such elements of the labor force do those jobs which are most easily automated, such as tightening bolts, drilling holes, and sweeping floors.

Urban centralization is the term applied to "The concentration of population in urban areas." The term is also used to ". . . refer to concentration of industry, commerce and cultural amenities in urban areas."¹

Urban decentralization is the term which refers to "Population movement away from the densely settled urban areas to peripheral areas. . . ."²

Urban ecology is "The study of the spatial distribution of people and institutions in cities from the developmental, non-moral, naturalistic point of view."³

Urbanization is the term used to apply to ". . . the movement of people or processes to urban areas; the increase of urban areas, population, or processes."⁴

¹Ibid., p. 329.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 101.

⁴Ibid., p. 330.

Waterloo is used to mean that area which lies within the boundaries of the early plats, that pre-incorporated area legally designated at the County Recorder's office as the Original Plat of East Waterloo and Original Plat of West Waterloo, and the boundaries of annexations to same until the city was incorporated in 1854. In that year, and after 1854, the term will refer to that area which lies within the boundaries of the incorporated city of Waterloo at the date used.

Waterloo Community School District is that area which is enclosed in the boundaries of the Waterloo District. These boundaries are not the same as the boundaries of the City of Waterloo.¹

Zoning ordinances are legal actions taken by the city council in setting up certain restrictions for buildings in certain areas of the city. An area zoned residential prohibits the building of anything except one-family dwellings and may specify the minimum number of square feet required for a house size within that area. Other restrictions may also be placed on buildings to be constructed, i.e., within most residential zones, bathrooms must be provided with access to the city sewer system, outdoor toilets are prohibited, and no domesticated animals except cats and dogs and other pets such as birds and

¹See Map p. 296.

goldfish are allowed. Within residential zoning, no business of any type may be conducted within a home. R2 zoning usually refers to restrictions on all buildings which limits residences to one- and two-family dwellings, such as duplexes, only. Multiple-unit zoning allows for the building of condominiums and apartment houses and, in the case of condominiums in the city the size of Waterloo, the area to be encompassed by a single condominium is usually designated, for tax purposes on the county record books, as an addition. In none of the above are commercial enterprises allowed to exist. Commercial zoning refers to those areas which have been set aside primarily for the building of structures in which either business or industry may be carried out. In a city the size of Waterloo, it is possible for a single block or a part of a block to be zoned commercial if the proper papers requesting the change are filed, published, receive no objections, and are passed by the city council.

ORGANIZATION

This dissertation will be organized in the following manner:

In Chapter 2 a review of the literature which is relevant to racial problems in the community will be presented. Segregation, desegregation, and integration will be discussed. The nature of prejudice will be reviewed.

Court cases, urban ecology, majority-minority problems and current efforts to solve these problems will be included. The plight of the blacks in American society will be discussed as it relates to the specific problems which are found in Waterloo.

Chapter 3 will be divided into six sections which will deal with the various stages of growth of the city of Waterloo. Since the history and the economy of the nation, state, and city have affected certain changes, this chapter will, as nearly as possible, be broken at points where the historical or economic situation offers a distinct break in city development.

The first section will present the historical background of the area, including the early exploration and the governmental changes which took place prior to and during the early settlement of Waterloo.

The second section will present the city of Waterloo and the surrounding area from the earliest settlement in 1846 until the end of the Civil War. During this time the city was platted and businesses began to grow. This early development of the city and the personalities of its early residents did a great deal to help shape the city as it exists today.

The third section will begin with the end of the Civil War and cover the growth of Waterloo until 1900. During this period there was little major industrial

development, but it was during this period that many of the city services had their beginnings.

The fourth section will present the growth of industry from 1900 until 1920. It was during these two decades that Waterloo began to change from a farmers' market community to a major industrial city.

The fifth section will begin with 1920 and cover the period of prosperity, the changes brought about by the national depression in the 1930's, and the industrial expansion which took place as a direct result of World War II.

The sixth section will present the period from 1946 to 1975 and will discuss the changes brought about by the expanding technology and the changing social philosophy as well as by the major migration of blacks from the South to Waterloo.

Chapter 4 will present the major theme of the dissertation traced through the preceding three chapters and will offer recommendations which might help to bring about some amicable solutions to the problems of segregation.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Because this dissertation is concerned with both the history of a community and the problem of segregation, it will be necessary to review two types of literature. Very little has been written about the problem of segregation as it exists in the city of Waterloo, but much general material has been written about segregation and discrimination as it exists on the national level. Much of this information applies, in a general way, to the situation existing in Waterloo. Because each city is in some ways unique, it will be necessary to review the literature relating to the development of Waterloo and the surrounding area in order to understand the problem more fully. Therefore this chapter will contain two major sections, one dealing with the general problems faced by the black minority and the other dealing with the development of the city.

HISTORY

The plight of the Negro in the United States has been of concern to sociologists and interested citizens for a long time and much has been written on the subject. Some

books, such as John Dollard's Caste and Class in a Southern Town,¹ discuss the plight of the Negro in the South, while other books are concerned with segregation and discrimination, with Negro history, or with Negro thought. Conditions affecting the Negro in the South differ from those found in the North for several reasons: first, because the early position of the Negro as a slave produced a subculture status for blacks; second, because the Reconstruction era caused long-range social problems; and, third, because, in some Southern areas, the Negro population outnumbered the white, therefore, the Negro culture was kept subservient through fear. Segregation in the North refers to separate housing while segregation in the South usually means the maintenance of separate and supposedly equal facilities for schooling, transportation, and other phases of human life.²

Many of the early Negroes came to this hemisphere as slaves. As early in 1517, slavery had begun in the Western hemisphere; and Spaniards settling here were

¹John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (3d ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1957).

²John Griffin, in his book Black Like Me, gives a very personal account of what it is like to be a Southern Negro. John Howard Griffin, Black Like Me (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961).

permitted to import twelve Negroes each.¹ Slaves were held in the early Dutch Colony of New Netherland as early as 1628.² The British colonists, however, were much slower to adopt slavery as a solution to labor problems. The first Negroes, twenty in number, who arrived in the Virginia Colony in 1619 were either free men or indentured servants.³ John Hope Franklin, in his book From Slavery to Freedom, states that the early Negroes in the Virginia Colony:

. . . were listed as servants in the census enumerations of 1623 and 1624; and as late as 1651 some Negroes whose period of service had expired were being assigned land in much the same way that it was being done for white servants. The records of Virginia contain many indentures of Negro servants during the forty-year period following their introduction; and during the same period there are records of free Negroes in the colony.⁴

In the period between 1619 and 1650, the number of Negro residents in Virginia increased from 20 to 300.⁵

Following the recognition of slavery in Virginia, in 1651, the number of Negroes in the colony increased rapidly. By the close of the seventeenth century, ". . . they [the Negroes] were being brought in at a rate of more than one thousand per year."⁶ This rapid increase continued; and, by

¹John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (3d ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 49.

²Ibid., p.89.

³Ibid., p. 71.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 73.

⁶Ibid.

1756, the Negro population in the colony had increased to 120,156.¹ Corresponding gains in Negro population were common in every Southern colony in which slavery was permitted by law.

The increase in slave population continued at an expanding rate after the colonies secured their independence. The first Federal census, in 1790, shows a total Negro population for the United States of 757,181.² Of these, 660,676 were residents of the South. Virginia had the largest Negro population, 305,493; Maryland had 111,079; North Carolina had 105,547; South Carolina had 108,895; and Georgia had 29,662.³ Of the 96,505 Negroes who lived outside this area, the largest group, 25,978, lived in New York.⁴

By 1790, almost all the Northern states had enacted either anti-slavery or manumission legislation, most of which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. The first such legislation was enacted in Pennsylvania in 1780, Massachusetts followed in 1783, Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1785, and New Jersey in 1786. The movement against slavery in the North continued in 1787 when

¹Ibid.

²Harry A. Ploski and Ernest Kaiser, eds., The Negro Almanac (2d ed.; New York: Bellwether Company, 1971), p. 348.

³Ibid., p. 347.

⁴Ibid.

an anti-slavery provision was added to the Northwest Ordinance.¹

The number of slaves in the Southern states continued to grow; and, by 1860, more than 90 percent of the 4.4 million Negroes in the United States were slaves.² Part of this large increase, from 7.5 hundred thousand to 4.4 million, was due to live births in the United States; but slaves were also being imported from Africa and the Caribbean Islands. During the period from 1790 to 1860, the Negro population had increased over 3.5 million. However, the "Immigrants by Countries Table" in Historical Statistics of the United States indicates that only 462 immigrants from Africa, including black, white, and Arabian, arrived between 1820 and 1860.³ This increase, therefore, must have been due, to a large extent, to the importation of slaves.

The first Federal census after the Civil War, the census of 1870, lists a total Negro population of 4,880,009.⁴

¹Franklin, op. cit., pp. 140 f.

²John P. Davis, ed., The American Negro Reference Book (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966), p. 98.

³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957. A Statistical Abstract Supplement (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 59.

⁴Hyman Alterman, Counting People (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1969), p. 277.

Of these, 4,420,811 lived in the South.¹ During the next ninety years, from 1870 to 1960, the Negro population increased to 18,871,831.² The immigration from Africa during this same period did not account for the increase. Between the years 1820 and 1957, the total immigration from Africa, including black, white, and Arabian, exceeded 1,000 per year only fourteen times; and, in most years, the immigration total from Africa was well below 500.³

A large proportion of the Negro population in the Northern states today arrived through migration rather than through immigration. As John P. Davis states:

A population in a given area can grow through an excess of births over deaths (natural increase) or by an excess of in-migrants over out-migrants (net migration). In the absence of migration, population growth occurs with a fairly narrow set of biological limits. The Negro population of the U.S. has rarely increased by more than 25 percent in a single decade. Thus, the extremely rapid increases in Northern Negro population in the last fifty years are the product of large-scale population movement. Had these migrations not occurred, the Negro population would still be 90 percent Southern.

¹United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, op. cit., p. 12.

²Davis, op. cit., p. 107.

³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, op. cit., pp. 58 f. The Table of Immigrants in this source does not go back before 1820. It would appear, therefore, that the largest percentage of the Negro population in the United States today are descended from those people who were brought to this country as slaves.

During the first fifty years after Emancipation, the relative stability in residential distribution was broken only by some movement to new agricultural areas in the western portion of the South. Although the movement of whites to cities in North and South was already gaining momentum, the rural Southern character of the Negro population remained substantially intact. In the decades since 1910, Negro migrations, rural-to-urban and North-to-South, have been proceeding at a rapid pace, at times at an incredible pace, completely altering the patterns of distribution which would have resulted in the absence of migration.¹

The estimated Negro migration for the forty-year period between 1910 and 1950 shows a consistent increase in Negro population for most of the Northern and Western states, with New York, Illinois, California, and Michigan having the greatest growth.² This increase is balanced by a proportionate loss in the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central states, with South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi showing the greatest loss. The total Negro gain for the four states mentioned above during this period was 1,702,900, which is almost balanced by the loss from the three Southern states, 1,661,200.³ In the decade between 1940 and 1950, over 1,300,000 Negroes migrated from the Southern states, with over half of them, 608,400, coming from South Carolina, Georgia, and

¹Davis, op. cit., p. 108.

²The regions of the country are capitalized to correspond with the areas in the census publication.

³United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, op. cit., pp. 46 f.

Mississippi. During the same period, the Northern and Western states gained over 1,300,000, with well over half, 845,600 going to New York, Illinois, Michigan, and California.¹ The 1970 census shows the same trend in migration. The total Negro population, for 1970, was 22,580,000.² Of these, 5,985,382, or one-fourth of the total Negro population of the United States, reside in New York, Illinois, Michigan, and California.³ By 1970, however, the largest migrations seem to be toward New York and California with New York gaining, in the decade from 1960 to 1970, 751,438 Negroes and California gaining 516,282. The gains for Illinois and Michigan during the same period were relatively less.⁴

The majority of the Negroes in the North live in cities according to the 1970 census. In New York City, there were 1,668,000, over 50 percent of that state's total Negro population.⁵ Chicago had 1,103,000 Negro residents, while only 300,000 of that state's Negro population lived

¹These figures are based on estimated net intercensal migration totals which have been rounded off to the nearest hundred (Ibid.).

²United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 17.

³Ibid., p. 29.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. The figures in this source are rounded off to the nearest thousand.

in the remainder of the state.¹ Detroit had a total of 660,000 black residents, almost two-thirds of that state's total Negro population.² California's Negro population seemed to be less centralized. Los Angeles, with the largest concentration, had 504,000; and San Francisco, only 96,000. The total Negro population for the State of California in 1970 was 1,400,143; which indicates that 800,143, or more than half of the Negro population, was distributed throughout the rest of the state.³

Before 1900, the majority of the population, both black and white, lived in rural areas; but, since that time, the trend has been toward cities and has been particularly rapid since 1910. During the early stages of urbanization, 1900 to 1910, there was little Negro movement toward the cities and little movement toward the North. However, during the fifty years from 1910 to 1960, urbanization has proceeded rapidly among both blacks and whites in almost every region.⁴ According to Davis:

¹Ibid. The figures in this source are rounded off to the nearest thousand.

²Ibid. The figures in this source are rounded off to the nearest thousand.

³Ibid. The figures in this source are rounded off to the nearest thousand.

⁴Davis, op. cit., p. 116.

In 1910, there were fewer than one million Negroes living in cities in the North and West. In 1960, there were more than one million Negroes in New York City alone, and more than seven million in cities throughout the North and West.¹

He continues:

As of 1910, just over one-fourth of Negroes and just under one-half of whites in the United States lived in cities. These national figures mask considerable regional variation. Within the South, Negroes and whites were equally urbanized, with about one-fifth living in cities. Within the North and West, Negroes, with 77 percent in cities, were much more urbanized than whites. . . .

During the fifty years from 1910 to 1960, urbanization has proceeded rapidly among both whites and Negroes in every region. Within regions, however, the differences between whites and Negroes have remained much as they were fifty years ago. In the South, despite a period of particularly rapid urbanization since 1940, Negroes and whites have maintained nearly identical proportions in cities. In 1960, 58 percent of Southern Negroes and 59 percent of Southern whites lived in cities. In the North and West, Negroes continue to be more highly urbanized than whites. In 1960, the percentages living in cities were, in the North, 96 for Negroes and 73 for whites, and in the West, 93 for Negroes and 78 for whites.²

The fact that the North, in particular, shows a larger percentage of urbanization for Negroes than for whites indicates that the trend has been from Southern urban and rural areas to Northern industrialized urban centers.

Within the South, Negroes are also migrating from rural areas to urban areas. In speaking of this migration,

¹Ibid., p. 118.

²Ibid., pp. 116 ff.

Davis states:

In 1960, Negroes were more urbanized than whites. Of the nonwhite population, 73 percent lived in cities, as compared to 70 percent of the white population. . . . Civil rights struggles in Birmingham and Little Rock, Atlanta and Norfolk share headlines with those in Chicago, Detroit and New York.¹

The reasons behind this large migration toward urban areas has been basically the same for both blacks and whites; namely, a search for a share in the economic benefits of industrialization. This large migration from rural to urban and from South to North has brought about problems not only for the Negroes but also for the whites in American cities.

SEGREGATION

After 1910, industrialized centers grew rapidly. Greater New York, for example, had a 1910 population of 4,766,883;² and, by 1970, the population had reached 16,178,612, an increase of 11,411,729.³ According to the 1970 census, the population of Greater New York consisted of 1,256,871 people with foreign-born parentage; 13,921,741

¹Ibid., p. 115.

²United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 56.

³United States Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population. Characteristics of the Population, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 337.

people with native parentage.¹ Of these, 2,403,087 were Negroes, and 230,535 were other races including Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, etc.² According to Ploski and Kaiser:

In 1940 over 77% of the black population was in the South. As of 1970 this figure had dropped just below the 52% level. During the 1950's blacks were leaving the South at a rate of some 146,000 people a year, and although the pace slackened during the 1960's the annual out-migration rate was roughly 88,000 people per year.³

New York City's population in 1910 was 1.9 percent Negro. In the fifty years from 1910 to 1960, this percentage increased by 12.1, giving the city a 14 percent Negro population.⁴ The increase for Chicago for the same period was 20.9 percent.⁵

This large increase in the population required additional housing, and the tendency of like groups to cluster together created segregated neighborhoods. Since the Negroes were migrating to the cities at a more rapid rate than the whites, the problems of Negro segregation became serious ones, particularly between 1940 and 1970. According to Gist and Fava:

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 87.

³Ploski and Kaiser, op. cit., p. 349.

⁴Davis, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵Ibid.

The reasons for increased residential segregation of American Negroes are complex, for the forces affecting them lie in many parts of American social organization. However, some light may be shed by noting the factors associated with high residential segregation of nonwhites: cities of considerable size; and many nonwhites, both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population. These conditions are being fostered by the heavy migration of southern Negroes to metropolitan areas all over the country. The migration has been so heavy that by 1960, for the first time in American history, a larger percentage of Negroes (73.2) than whites (69.5) lived in cities. At the same time the white population has been moving from the crowded central parts of the city to more spacious suburbia, thus leaving proportionately fewer whites in the core areas. These conditions are likely to persist, and we may infer that unless vigorous social action is taken the degree of segregation of Negroes is not likely to decline and may even increase beyond its already very high levels.

It is paradoxical that Negro residential segregation should be increasing at a time when so many barriers to the integration of Negroes into American society are crumbling--in education, employment, the armed services, and voting, to name a few. In the nature of the case, it is difficult to prove, but it has been suggested that the decline of segregation in other spheres of life has in fact spurred increased residential segregation.¹

This large influx of population, both black and white, created two problems. First, where housing was insufficient doubling up became necessary creating crowded conditions. Second, landlords, taking advantage of the inequality of supply and demand in the field of housing, were able to rent space at a higher rate and in a poorer

¹Noel P. Gist and Sylvia Fleis Fava, Urban Society (5th ed.; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p. 129.

condition. This forced people in the lower income groups to spend more of their money for less desirable shelter. Since property was at a premium, little upkeep was needed to make a desirable residence. Thus slums were created. Rural-to-urban migration brought to the cities a number of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, particularly from the segment composed of Southern rural Negroes. For economic reasons, most of these were forced to find housing in the least desirable areas. This created a larger demand for low-cost housing than the supply could accommodate.

The Negro, in moving from a rural area to an urban area, was faced with a second handicap--his color.

According to Gist and Fava:

As a minority group, Negroes in the United States occupy the lowest social and economic position. Residentially, they are also the most highly segregated group in American cities, for both voluntary and involuntary reasons. Their segregation is complicated by the high visibility of skin color and by the false impression that Negroes are somehow innately inferior to other races.¹

The problem of finding housing for the large number of migrants was further complicated by the tendency of any group toward ecological segregation:

There is a widespread tendency for persons to select as intimate associates other individuals with whom they share similar interests, values, and perhaps social positions. These associational preferences commonly reflect differences in

¹Ibid., p. 125.

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¹Ibid., p. 125.

occupation, religion, race, nationality, education, and so on.¹

Segregation seems to be a natural outgrowth of Negro migration.

. . . some aspects of ecological segregation are matters of choice or planning, while others are unplanned or involuntary. Voluntary segregation occurs when the individual, on his own initiative, seeks to live with others of his own kind and apart from those who are different in some fundamental (to him) respect. Motives may vary from individual, group, or area to another. Certain individuals may elect to live with others of similar characteristics because of the prestige such residence accords them; some may choose to live in a segregated area because such residence may afford them a sense of security or otherwise provide emotional satisfactions not attainable elsewhere; others may select such a residential location because they know or imagine that they are not welcome in areas occupied by persons who are different.²

Segregation, as practiced by the Negroes, may be divided into two types. First, a group of people may segregate themselves because they have the same race or culture; and, second, people may segregate themselves because they have similarities of occupation or economic status. There is a ". . . tendency for people in the same broad occupational group to cluster together residentially."³ In large cities, this produces several segregated areas of Negroes, rather than a single one. According to Gist and Fava:

¹Ibid., p. 106.

²Ibid., p. 119.

³Ibid., p. 132.

In the larger American cities there is usually not one Negro district but several: a major area and a number of minor areas varying in size from small pockets of population to aggregations of considerable magnitude. Each of these areas has its own historical past and each is more or less distinct in its social and occupational characteristics as well as in its relationships to adjoining districts or to the community as a whole. The major area is typically located near the central business district and contains a highly segregated core (75 percent or more of the residents classed as non-white)¹ which tapers off into less highly segregated areas.

In smaller cities, there may not be enough Negroes in the skilled labor and professional group to form a single segregated area; therefore, the Negro area of a smaller city may be segregated within itself. It is segregated from the total community on the basis of race; and, within itself, it is segregated into groups which have cultural, occupational, or economic similarities.

The segregation resulting from economic similarities produces a factor which contributes to the difficulty of minority groups' working together to achieve any lasting advances since the distance between these groups' interests and aims may be very great. The situation in a larger city is further complicated by a physical distance which separates the group by space as well as by interests.

The tendency of like peoples to segregate themselves causes community problems as the groups expand. An

¹Ibid., p. 127.

expanding group, needing a greater area for housing, tends to push outward on all sides into the surrounding areas, and, through the process known as invasion-succession, to increase their segregated area. This invasion may be voluntary or involuntary. It may occur because a residential area has been invaded by business or industry forcing the occupants to move. The same process would occur in cities where urban renewal is practiced, particularly if the urban renewal land became the property of industry or was converted into a city park.¹ Invasion may also occur when the economic status of a family or group is changed so that they are able to seek housing in a better residential district or so that they are forced to move into a poorer district.

This process of invasion is accelerated by mobility, which, according to Davis:

. . . is a prominent feature of an urban industrial society. People in the United States are frequent movers, and Negroes are no exception. They move from one community to another or from one house or apartment to another with high frequency. In March, 1961, the Bureau of the Census asked a large sample of the population where they were living one year earlier. Of nonwhites, 23 percent were in a different house, compared to 20 percent for whites. Every year, about one of every five families, white and Negro, shifts residence. No wonder that the 1960 census reported that only 11 percent of nonwhites and 14 percent of whites had lived in their present housing unit since 1940. . . .

¹Ibid., pp. 156 f.

It is misleading to view 'local moving' as being without social consequences. . . . When one-fourth, one-third, or even more (as is true of many apartment areas) of the population has lived for less than a year in a neighborhood, how much sense of community identification can there be? Under such circumstances, can there be effective local participation in planning, as envisioned by many planners and written into Federal urban renewal law?¹

Segregation tends to be a self-perpetuating situation. Gist and Fava write:

The segregation of population, whether voluntary or involuntary, may affect the entire fabric of relationships between people in a community. People who do not associate intimately with each other because they differ in certain fundamental respects tend to live apart from those who are different. . . .

Similarly, social isolationism is reinforced by spatial isolationism; the more people are spatially segregated, the less likely are they to come into intimate contact with each other. At least the possibilities of close relationships on the basis of social equality are greatly reduced. Instead, contacts tend to be formalized, confined principally to the market place or the work situation.²

In a large city this self-perpetuating factor would operate to a greater extent than it would in a smaller city. In a large city, groups of people, whether white or Negro, are separated by the widest possible range of social and economic conditions as well as by distances. In a smaller industrial city, there are more chances for closer association of individuals within the activities of everyday life.

¹Davis, op. cit., pp. 114 f.

²Gist and Fava, op. cit., p. 121.

Companies are often not so large; several segregated areas may be included in the same elementary or secondary school; and supermarkets and stores are frequently located to serve groups from several segregated areas. All of these things give people of differing groups chances for random encounters; and, in the case of industries and schools, chances for prolonged or random day-to-day encounters.

The problem of the Negro migrants in a large city is a complex one. Migration brings problems for the migrants themselves. According to Gist and Fava:

Migration represents a transition. On the whole, the difficulties of transition and adjustment are greater when the communities are very different.

Problems arise mainly when migrants have to become accustomed to a new way of living. Since most migrants have come from nonurban communities, the problems of adjustment have been many and acute.¹

This problem is further complicated by the nature of urban society. Gist and Fava write:

Modern urban society is made up of an infinite variety of groups whose members represent an equally infinite variety of social interests. The members of different groups commonly live apart from each other, represent different ethnic, economic, religious, and social backgrounds, and share different sets of experiences. Most of them never communicate with each other in an intimate, face-to-face relationship. To function as a collective unity the various parts of such a society or community must be held together by the thread of communication. In a mass society exemplified by the modern urbanized social order the very

¹Ibid., pp. 460 f.

magnitude of the community, the heterogeneity of its culture, and the social and spatial apartness of its people limit the scope and effectiveness of interpersonal communication.¹

The problems of adjustment and lack of communication are further complicated for the Negro because:

The adjustment of many migrants to American cities is complicated by factors of color and race, problems which the European immigrants did not face. The question has been raised whether the visibility of color and the depth of racial prejudice will prevent these migrant groups from assimilating into the larger American society and moving up the socio-economic ladder as the immigrant groups have done.²

The Negro migrant faces many problems. He must find for himself a place in the heterogeneous society of the city; he must find a job; he must find a home; he must change his way of living if he has come from a rural area; and he must do this set apart from the majority of the city's population by a visible difference, his color. Since he is obviously different, he is subject to a further drawback.

PREJUDICE

The problem of adjustment for the Negro is complicated by the fact that his differences are visible. This visible difference, as well as his late entry into the labor market, have led to prejudice. According to Ebony

¹Ibid., pp. 508 f.

²Ibid., p. 468.

Pictorial History of Black America:

During the years of World War I, competition for jobs and housing caused racial hostility to simmer throughout the North. Although the American Federation of Labor was forced, by the sheer number of black workers, to admit blacks to membership, the white rank and file of the unions--many of them European immigrants who had arrived just before the outbreak of war--deeply resented having to work beside a black man. This resentment spilled over into neighborhoods, and white homeowners began fleeing as soon as a black family bought a house in the same block. Thus the rise of the urban ghettos which plague almost every Northern city even today.

There was so much hostility during the last six months of 1919--there were more than twenty race riots--that black poet James Weldon Johnson described those months as 'The Red Summer,' the redness being the blood of blacks and whites that was spilled on the nation's streets.¹

This racial hostility and the tendency of like people to segregate themselves are both factors which contribute to prejudice and to the lack of understanding between races.

Gordon Allport defines prejudice as:

. . . an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group.²

These generalizations are usually based on insufficient knowledge and on prejudgments. A person may have no firsthand experience on which to base his judgments, or he

¹Ebony, eds., Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Vol. II, Reconstruction to Supreme Court Decision 1954 (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1971), p. 112.

²Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), p. 9.

may judge all individuals in a given group by one individual's behavior. It might be possible to define prejudice as:

. . . an avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.¹

Allport continues,

. . . we must grant that few if any human judgments are based on absolute certainty. . . . The sufficient warrant for any judgment is always a matter of probabilities. Ordinarily our judgments of natural happenings are based on firmer and higher probabilities than our judgments of people. Only rarely do our categorical judgments of nations or ethnic groups have a foundation in high probability.²

This tendency to form generalizations without evidence leads us to prejudge individuals on the basis of limited experience: "Given a thimbleful of facts we rush to make generalizations as large as a tub."³

In discussing the problem of the origins of prejudice, John P. Davis writes:

While some animals have an instinctive aversion to others, this is not true among species that are cross-fertile. Human beings of all races can (and do) mate and procreate.⁴

This probably rules out the biological factor of instinctive

¹Ibid., p. 7.

²Ibid., p. 8.

³Ibid.

⁴Davis, op. cit., p. 708.

aversion.¹ Prejudice, therefore, must be a learned type of behavior, and this learning is done in many ways. Some prejudice is deliberately taught through punishment or through teaching the child to hate a certain person, race, or group. It may also be taught through analogy or through applying names with emotional connotations.² Prejudice may be brought about by unfavorable contact with a member of a specific race or group. Prejudice may be caught rather than taught either through sensing the attitude of parents or through incidents which happen in new situations where the child would normally be fearful. An unfortunate occurrence during the first week of kindergarten, for example, may predispose a young child to prejudice or fear throughout his life. Prejudice may also be formed on the basis of an emotional trauma, but this is relatively rare.

The prejudgments upon which prejudice is based sometimes come from stereotyping. A person who has no acquaintance with a racial or ethnic group tends to draw his knowledge from other sources. Popular light fiction, plays, movies, television, and other media forms frequently present members of minority groups in an unfavorable light. Some of the common stereotyped ideas about the Negro are that he is mentally inferior, immoral, lazy, dirty, depreciates property, dishonest, happy-go-lucky, musical, fond

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 708 f.

of gambling, given to crimes of violence with razors and knives, smells bad, and is occupationally unstable.

In a study conducted in 1944, it was found that popular light fiction presented the largest percentage of stereotyped characters; motion pictures were next; and radio and television were also offenders. Newspapers were found to engage in stereotyping by carrying articles which told of unfavorable Negro behavior and excluding material which presented favorable Negro behavior. Advertising, as well, tended to center upon the white consumer and to exclude the Negro, except where the product advertised was specifically intended for members of that race.¹

Prejudice may express itself in any one, or several, of five types of action: antilocution, avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination.² To a certain

¹Allport, op. cit., pp. 191 ff.

²Allport defines these as:

1. Antilocution. Most people who have prejudices talk about them. With like-minded friends, occasionally with strangers, they may express their antagonism freely. But many people never go beyond this mild degree of antipathetic action.
2. Avoidance. If the prejudice is more intense, it leads the individual to avoid members of the disliked group, even perhaps at the cost of considerable inconvenience. In this case, the bearer of prejudice does not directly inflict harm upon the group he dislikes. He takes the burden of accommodation and withdrawal entirely upon himself.
3. Discrimination. Here the prejudiced person makes detrimental distinctions of an active sort. He undertakes to exclude all members of the group in question from certain types of employment, from residential housing, political rights, educational or recreational

extent, the Negroes in the United States have been faced with all of these. According to Davis, "Research suggests that perhaps 80 percent of the American people harbor ethnic prejudice of some type and in some appreciable degree."¹

In the Newsweek Survey, taken in 1963 and the Newsweek-Harris Survey of 1966, widespread feelings of prejudice were shown. In Black and White, William Brink and Louis Harris quoted some of the reasons why 58 percent of all the whites surveyed said that they would be upset by Negroes moving into their neighborhood.² Some of the responses given were these: Asheville, North Carolina: "It would tear me up! The Negro is inferior and utterly impossible to live with as neighbors. I can't even stand

opportunities, churches, hospitals, or from some other social privileges. Segregation is an institutionalized form of discrimination, enforced legally or by common custom.

4. Physical attack. Under conditions of heightened emotion prejudice may lead to acts of violence or semiviolence. An unwanted Negro family may be forcibly ejected from a neighborhood, or so severely threatened that it leaves in fear. Gravestones in Jewish cemeteries may be desecrated. The Northside's Italian gang may lie in wait for the Southside's Irish gang.
5. Extermination. Lynchings, progroms, massacres, and the Hitlerian program of genocide mark the ultimate degree of violent expression of prejudice (Allport, op. cit., pp. 14 f).

¹Davis, op. cit., p. 707.

²It is interesting to note that this figure rises to 76 percent among whites living in the areas where Negroes would like to move [William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), p. 131].

to think about it!"¹ Chicago, Illinois: "'If they were well behaved, it wouldn't bother me. But they are usually dirty and bring rats and bugs. They ruin a neighborhood.'"² Ohio: "'You hear so many people say things about them. They act trashy and mean. I don't want to mingle. I'll stay with my color and they should do the same.'"³ Hyde Park, New York: "'Wherever they go they make a mess of everything. They have no pride in their home. They make a ghetto of it.'"⁴ Joliet, Illinois: "'They're dirty. They get housing projects and in two years they look like dumps.'"⁵

These attitudes represent both North and South as well as both small towns and large cities. They also represent a wide diversity in ages, employment, and economic conditions. In comparing the responses given and quoted by these authors, with a list of stereotypes on page 63, the extent of prejudgments based on stereotypes can be seen.

The extent of prejudice of whites toward Negroes in the people involved in this study is illustrated by the following table summarizing white attitudes.⁶

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 136.

Table 4
White Attitudes Toward Negroes

	All whites %	Low- income %	Affluents %
Negro housing worse than whites	65	46	69
Negroes are discriminated against	60	46	78
Negroes laugh a lot	56	66	49
Negroes smell different	52	61	45
Object to Negroes living next door	51	54	41
Negroes have looser morals	50	56	46
Sympathize with Negro protests	46	24	57
Negroes want to live off handouts	43	53	33
Object to having Negro child to supper	42	51	29
Negro education worse than whites	40	27	58
Object to trying clothes Negroes tried on	31	44	21
Object to using same restrooms as Negroes	22	36	14
Object to sitting next to Negro in movie	21	31	11
Object to sitting next to Negro on bus	16	25	9
Object to sitting next to Negro in restaurant	16	26	8

This table indicates a difference in the degree of discrimination felt, or at least admitted, by the affluent. It would appear from the table that, among low-income groups, there is a higher degree of discrimination than among the more affluent. The table further points up the extent of the problem of discrimination and prejudice. The high percentage of people in the all-white column who would object to having Negroes for neighbors or to associate with a Negro, even a child, indicates this. In comparing the

answers to the question with the stereotyped ideas on page 63, it is also possible to gain some idea of the extent of the influence of stereotyping.

Allport states that, "Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge."¹ Prejudgments against the Negro are probably more difficult to reverse than are those against any other group. The barriers to the reversal of prejudgments against the Negro are primarily a difference in color, which sets members of this race apart; the lack of communication found in large urban centers; and the voluntary segregation of people with like interests, cultures, color, and occupational levels.

Prejudice and discrimination are not new factors in American life. Although the Civil War freed the Negroes from slavery, it did not free them from racial injustices. According to Ebony Pictorial History of Black America:

They were still unable to vote in much of the country, or work in certain jobs, or use certain public facilities, enjoy equal education and many other privileges.²

¹Allport, op. cit., p. 9.

²Ebony, eds., Ebony Pictorial History of Black America, Vol. I, African Past to the Civil War (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1971), p. 310.

COURT CASES

The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments granted the Negroes freedom, citizenship, and the right to vote; however, many states found ways to circumvent these amendments. A number of civil rights statutes have been enacted and the courts have taken action a number of times to enforce the rights guaranteed the Negro under the Constitution. The earliest court case in the post-Civil War period was decided in 1866, when all citizens were granted the right ". . . to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property; . . ." ¹ Between 1866 and 1875, other laws were enacted to secure for the Negroes such freedoms as the right to vote, the right to make and enforce contracts, freedom from peonage, and freedom from being deprived of any rights guaranteed by the Constitution. ²

During the years since the enactment of the Thirteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court has been called upon many times for decisions and interpretations of civil-rights-amendments legislation. During the nineteenth century, two Supreme Court decisions established a precedent for treatment of Negroes. "In 1883 the Court precluded Federal protection against discrimination in privately owned

¹Davis, op. cit., p. 487.

²Ibid.

places of public accommodation."¹ This established the separate-but-equal doctrine.² Supreme Court action in 1896, sustained this decision in the court case of Plessy v. Ferguson.³ This separate-but-equal doctrine was used as a justification for segregated facilities and segregated schools for many years. By 1954, the move toward desegregated schools again brought this question to the attention of the Supreme Court; and

. . . the Supreme Court, consolidating cases arising in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, and Virginia, ruled unanimously that the separate-but-equal doctrine (Plessy v. Ferguson), which had been used to exclude Negro children from public schools maintained for white children, was unconstitutional.⁴

As early as 1917, residential segregation laws were declared illegal by the Federal courts.⁵ This decision was reinforced in 1925, when the Supreme Court dismissed a New Orleans ordinance requiring written consent of a majority of the inhabitants of a block as a condition for residence.⁶

In 1948, the Supreme Court held that restrictive

¹Ibid., p. 488.

²Ibid., p. 489.

³Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896). United States Reports. Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court, Vol. CLXIII, October Term, 1895 (New York: Banks Law Publishing Company, 1907), pp. 537-564.

⁴George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (4th ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 548.

⁵Ibid., p. 437.

⁶Ibid.

covenants denied equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, but that these covenants standing alone did not violate the rights guaranteed in that Amendment; because, if the agreements are carried out by voluntary adherence to their terms, there is no action by the state and hence no violation.¹ This ruling was later reversed by the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1968 which ". . . prohibits discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in the sale, rental, financing, or advertising of dwelling units."² On June 17, 1968, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the legality of the Civil Rights law.³

The first comprehensive civil rights bill of the twentieth century was the Civil Rights Law of 1964, which continued all the rights guaranteed in the post-Civil War legislation and required the granting of further rights. Briefly, this bill contained a number of provisions. Under Title I, the voting laws of 1870 were strengthened. Under Title II, the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 were renewed and augmented. Under Title III, public facilities were desegregated. Under Title IV, the public schools were desegregated. Under Title V, a four-year Commission on Civil Rights was established. Under

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 441.

³Ibid.

Title VI, discrimination in federally assisted programs was prohibited. Under Title VII, discrimination by employers, employment agencies, and labor unions was prohibited, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established. Under Title VIII, the compilation of registration and voting statistics was required. Under Title IX, the right to appeal where attempts were made to remove civil rights cases from state to Federal courts was provided, and the Attorney General was given the power to intervene in any civil rights law suit of general public importance in a Federal court. Under Title X, the Community Relations Service was established for the purpose of assisting communities or persons involved in civil rights disputes. Under Title XI, provision was made for jury trials and penalties for criminal contempts arising out of the enforcement of this act.¹

At the present time, the rights guaranteed under the Constitution in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments have secured for the Negro a greater amount of equality than he has received in the past. According to Simpson and Yinger:

At the federal level, we believe that the laws pertaining to employment, housing, voting, and public accommodations through the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the 1968 Civil Rights Act (with their amendments) are reasonably adequate instruments for the ends they are intended

¹Davis, op. cit., pp. 487 f.

to attain. Further legislation is especially needed in such important areas as income supplements, education, welfare, and the composition of juries. In the categories mentioned first, the main legislative problem is the appropriation by Congress of sufficient funds to implement the existing laws in more than a token way.

At the state level, the trend has been toward strengthening the earlier laws, as well as the enactment of antidiscrimination laws by additional states (in 1970, 37 states had laws against discrimination in public accommodations, 36 against discrimination in employment, 26 against discrimination in housing). Some of these laws are now quite strong, but the great lacks at the state level are overcautiousness on the part of state commissioners, insufficient funds and staff, lack of support from some state administrations, and the absence of such legislation in the southern states.¹

Civil rights legislation enacted since the Civil War has reflected the changing status of the Negro in the United States. In the post-Civil War period, court interpretations relegated him to the status of a second-class citizen. His gains since the beginning of this century have legally awarded him equality. According to Simpson and Yinger:

Court decisions reflect the climate of opinion, and from 1868 until 1936 the rulings of the Supreme Court functioned to support the prevailing racial system. The narrow and legalistic interpretations of the Court during these years had the effect of reducing to a minimum some of the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. During this period the Court played an important part in 'keeping the Negro in his place.' Supreme Court decisions, however, modify as well as reflect opinion, and the decisions from 1937 to 1970 greatly influenced public opinion and prepared the way for legislative and executive action.

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 449.

Important decisions have been handed down in the fields of education, housing, voting, and public accommodations by the U.S. Supreme Court, the lower federal courts, and many of the state courts. Berger emphasizes the point that the Supreme Court has had to assume the task of revealing the unfairness of some American institutions because other branches and levels of government 'either would or could not speak with authority and justice on these issues.' The 'Warren Court' of the 1960s is often called an 'activist' court because of its inclination toward social change. The 'Burger Court' of the 1970s may come to be known as a 'strict constructionist' court. (In July, 1971, Chief Justice Burger said that the courts should not be regarded as instruments for bringing about social change.) Despite legal ideologies and trends, it is clear that the Supreme Court's decisions may have considerable impact on national life, for example, the effects of the 1954 school cases in the rearrangement of many American cities.¹

BLACK PROGRESS

The Negroes have been working to achieve equality for many years. As early as 1830, when the first Negro convention met in Philadelphia, they were seeking ways to solve the problem of racial oppression.² These conventions lasted until after the Civil War. When slavery was no longer an issue, Negro conventions were concerned with such things as lynchings, intimidation at the polls, and quasi-peonage.

In 1905, the Niagara Movement was formed and continued until 1909, when it merged with the National

¹Ibid., pp. 450 f.

²Davis, op. cit., p. 463.

Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization has been, for more than fifty years, the chief instrument of protest on behalf of Negro rights. It seeks to improve the Negro's position through litigation, legislation, and education. However, according to John P. Davis:

In spite of its extensive membership, neither the NAACP nor its programs have succeeded in reaching the Negro masses, nor has it been able to perfect an alliance with labor which would be mutually strengthening to the association and the labor movement. It is essentially a middle-class organization, providing status and self-expression for middle-class Negroes and white liberals. Most of the country's Negro notables are members, and many of them work vigorously for the cause without pay. Its critics are many, but none deny its distinguished record of achievement.¹

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP, believes in racial integration ". . . and he is convinced that the United States Constitution holds most remedies for whatever problems still beset black Americans."² According to an article in Ebony magazine, Charles L. Sanders states:

Perhaps as strong now as it ever was, the NAACP is involved in more programs (housing construction, veterans affairs, day care centers and child adoption, counseling of former prison inmates, and its numerous traditional programs) than ever before.³

In an article written in 1974, Roy Wilkins felt that the

¹Ibid., p. 467.

²Charles L. Sanders, "A Frank Interview With Roy Wilkins," Ebony, XXIX (April, 1974), 36.

³Ibid., p. 37.

attitude of blacks toward whites was changing from an attitude of opposition to a more moderate attitude.¹

Another Negro organization, which has existed for a number of years, is the National Urban League, founded in 1910. This organization is largely concerned with social work; with the extension of opportunities for Negroes in industry, business, and the professions; and with the improvement of housing. On a whole, its stand on racial equality has been more moderate than militant.² In the past, the National Urban League has provided ". . . expert testing and counseling services in the professional, technical, clerical, skilled, and semiskilled job categories."³ Whitney Young, Jr., estimated that, by 1966, 40,000 jobs were opened to Negroes in the United States, a large increase over the 2,000 in 1961.⁴ He did not feel that the term "moderate" applied to the attitude of the National Urban League as he saw it. He said, "'What exists is militancy versus extremism, and that is really a question of responsibility against irresponsibility; sanity against insanity; building versus burning.'"⁵ After Young's death

¹Roy Wilkins, "'Get Whitey' Attitude Seen Diminishing Among Blacks," Des Moines Register, March 15, 1974, p. 8.

²Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 706.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

in 1971, Vernon Jordan became executive director of the national Urban League.

In an article in the Iowa Bystander for May 30, 1974, Ronald H. Brown, speaking for the National Urban League, indicated that he felt that economic progress for blacks has been both illusory and disproportionate.¹ Speaking of the majority of blacks in the rural South and the urban centers, he said, "'For them, the statistical progress was illusory.'"² In discussing the status of blacks, he stated, "'From a statistical perspective there has certainly been some progress in education, housing, health care, jobs, and better pay.'"³ However, he also felt that,

. . . new housing opportunities have been offset by increased rents and higher mortgages; higher medical costs have virtually made a spell of sickness tantamount to a catastrophe; and increased salaries have been all but wiped out by the higher costs of clothing, food, and the other necessities of life.⁴

He concluded by saying, "'America is still a divided society where minorities bear the brunt of pervasive and debilitating racism.'"⁵

A third Negro organization is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded by the Reverend

¹"Black Economic Illusory," Iowa Bystander, May 30, 1974, p. 8.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and others, after the successful boycott of city buses in Montgomery, Alabama.¹ This group is devoted to securing equality for Negroes through nonviolent means. Toward the close of his career, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., did begin to advocate a more militant program, particularly in relation to black control and ownership of the ghettos.²

There are a number of other, smaller, Negro organizations devoted to obtaining equality for the black race. Some of these, such as the Congress of Racial Equality, advocate the use of nonviolent means. Others, such as the Black Panthers, advocate equality at any price. However, the largest organizations, and the largest percentage of the organizations, appear to advocate equality through the use of the ballot rather than the bullet. One factor contributing to this attitude of peaceful protest is the steadily increasing number of Negroes holding elective offices in the United States. Writing in the Des Moines Register in September of 1974, Clayton Fritchey stated:

With more power has come more moderation. Few of the new leaders engage in flamboyant rhetoric. They don't have to, for they are learning how to get things done politically, which is the path to real and lasting power.³

¹Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 703.

²Ibid., p. 704.

³Clayton Fritchey, "A New Black Leadership--By Election, Not Charisma," Des Moines Register, September 1, 1974, p. 2.

CONCLUSION

The question of the place of the Negro in the United States first arose when slaves were brought to this country. After the Civil War, the migration of Negroes from the South to the North and from rural to urban areas created a two fold problem. First of all, it introduced the problem of integrating a minority population with a majority population; and, second, it brought about the problem of adjusting rural people to an industrial society. Because of the tendency of like peoples to settle together, these population movements have brought about segregation.

As the population increased and as the ratio of Negroes to whites in cities grew larger, this problem became a serious one. When one segment of the population expands, it displaces, particularly in housing, some other segment of the population. The economic conditions, training, and education of the Negro migrants frequently placed them in competition with the low-income white groups. This competition existed not only in a search for employment but also in the search for available housing. Housing for low-income population must be within a certain economic range and the low-income Negro moving to the city would find housing in the areas occupied by whites in the same segment of the economy.

A large percentage of the Negroes migrating to the cities were faced with a number of problems. They were

different from both the whites and urban Negroes because of their rural background. They frequently found difficulty in obtaining employment because of their move from an agrarian to a technical society and their lack of salable skills. Because they, like all peoples, wished to live near others of the same racial, cultural, and economic background, they found difficulty in obtaining suitable housing. Because, in many cases, they were competing for unskilled jobs against unskilled whites, a conflict of interest arose. The fact that the Negro is noticeably different contributed to feelings of dislike and brought about the question of prejudice.

There seems to have been little inequality in Virginia before slavery was recognized in 1651. Since this date, however, the problem of the Negro has come before the Supreme Court a number of times. Probably the first major Supreme Court ruling was the Dred Scott decision in 1857 when Chief Justice Taney ruled that ". . . Negroes were not citizens within the contemplation of the Constitution."¹ After the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments, the Court was again called upon to interpret the Constitution. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, the court established the separate-but-equal doctrine. Court decisions regarding equality of Negro education in

¹Davis, op. cit., p. 485.

1899 and 1908 reflected a feeling that ". . . segregation was a matter better left to the states."¹ It was not until the Civil Rights Acts of the 1960's that the status of the Negro in the United States was changed. The separate-but-equal doctrine encouraged segregation. The civil rights legislation of the 1960's forced integration. The problem of the 1970's in every city with a significant Negro population has been a problem of human adjustment. The Court has reversed legal interpretations which have been in force for a hundred years. Human adjustment comes slowly.

The problem of adapting to the changing Negro role in American society has been further complicated by the fact that the Negro population in the North, particularly in industrialized cities, has grown to a point where they have become a political factor as well as a social factor. Negroes today are taking advantage of their increased opportunities. Not only are they becoming active in politics, but many of them are also taking advantage of increased educational opportunities. Today, Negroes can be found in every type of work, not only as unskilled laborers, but also as skilled laborers, businessmen, and professional people.

The early picture of the Negro as a happy, lazy, careless person is no longer adequate. The white population

¹Ibid., p. 371.

on most economic and social levels today encounters the problem of integration, not only in housing and education, but also in labor unions, in civic organizations, and in business and professional groups.

LOCAL HISTORY

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of books were published which dealt with the growth and development of Waterloo and Black Hawk County. Several of them also carry biographical information on important early settlers. Among the most useful of these are Peter Melendy's Historical Record of Cedar Falls, The Garden City of Iowa, Containing a Brief History of Iowa, of Black Hawk County, and a Full and Complete Description of Industrial and Picturesque Cedar Falls, which was published in 1893.¹ This book contains not only a detailed history of the city of Cedar Falls, but also a number of interesting and useful historical firsts and historical anecdotes. Because Melendy was a Cedar Falls resident, he tends to take the Cedar Falls' position when discussing political and industrial conflicts between Cedar Falls and Waterloo.

¹Peter Melendy, Historical Record of Cedar Falls, The Garden City of Iowa, Containing a Brief History of Iowa, of Black Hawk County, and a Full and Complete Description of Industrial and Picturesque Cedar Falls (Cedar Falls, Iowa: Peter Melendy, 1893).

If any books dealing exclusively with Waterloo were written during this period, no records of them can be found. There were, however, five books published which dealt with the history of Black Hawk County. The earliest, Historical and Biographical Record of Black Hawk County, Iowa, was published in 1886. It discussed the settlement of Black Hawk County and included specific material on the development of each of the cities in the county. It also contained biographies of the early settlers.¹

The second, The History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, published in 1878, began with the early Indian population and traced the development of the country and its settlements through territorial jurisdiction and into statehood.²

The third, History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens, written by Isaiah Van Metre and published in 1904, stressed the development of Waterloo, but also discussed the development of the surrounding area. It, like Melendy's book, contained personal opinions as well as facts.³

¹Historical and Biographical Record of Black Hawk County, Iowa (Chicago: The Inter-State Publishing Company, 1886).

²The History of Black Hawk County, Iowa (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1878).

³Isaiah Van Metre, ed., History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904).

John C. Hartman, the editor of the Waterloo Daily Courier, in his History of Black Hawk County Iowa and Its People, published in three volumes in 1915, treated his material in a more factual manner than did Van Metre. His discussions of the development of Waterloo were more complete. He did, however, give a great deal of space to biographies of those people whom he felt were important. He also included chronological tables detailing the important events and happenings of each year through 1914.¹

The final book of this group, Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa Containing Maps of Cities, Towns, Villages and Townships of the County, was published in 1910. It contained not only maps but also historical material on the development of the various townships and towns in the county.²

Little material about this area was published between 1915 and 1969. In 1969, two books, Robert and Lila Messerly's The Turkey Foot,³ and Clarence W. Baldwin's

¹John C. Hartman, History of Black Hawk County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915).

²Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa Containing Maps of Cities, Towns, Villages and Townships of the County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Publishing Company, 1910).

³Robert Messerly and Lila Messerly, The Turkey Foot (n.p.: n.n., 1969).

Crossroads on the Cedar,¹ appeared. The first, a small paper-back volume, dealt primarily with the history of the Finchford area; and the second, also a paper-back volume, dealt almost exclusively with the history of the area immediately surrounding Waterloo.

Some information on the historical development of the area was also included in books dealing with Iowa history which are listed in the bibliography.

In researching the history of Waterloo, it has been necessary to draw heavily from such local periodicals as publications of the Chamber of Commerce; the promotional publications of the various industries; the back issues of the Waterloo Daily Courier and the earlier, now nonexistent, Waterloo Morning Tribune; as well as the official county records.

¹Clarence W. Baldwin, Crossroads on the Cedar (Waterloo, Iowa: Pioneer Advertising Company, 1969).

Chapter 3

HISTORY OF WATERLOO

TO 1846 - FROM INDIAN TRAILS TO STATEHOOD

Two hundred years ago roving tribes of Indians followed the Red Cedar River through what is now Black Hawk County; today a large industrial city surrounded by a complex of smaller towns occupies this valley. The red cedar trees have been replaced by the smokestacks of factories. Since the first pioneers arrived at Waterloo 129 years ago, the population has grown from 13 people in Black Hawk County in 1845¹ to 132,916.² When the first plat of Waterloo was filed, on June 24, 1854,³ the total land area covered was a little less than .8 of one square mile;⁴

¹Clarence W. Baldwin [Crossroads on the Cedar (Waterloo, Iowa: Pioneer Advertising Company, 1969), p. 27] does not cite his source; but earlier volumes of Cedar Falls and Black Hawk County history, written by various other authors, give the number of children for each family. From all sources the total population is 13.

²See Table 2, p. 11.

³County Auditor's office (Black Hawk County Courthouse, Waterloo, Iowa), record book number 6 West Waterloo and number 1 East Waterloo.

⁴Computed by driving from Mullan Avenue to Eleventh Street on the north border and from Franklin Street to

today the incorporated city of Waterloo covers 59.13 square miles.¹

Like most pioneer cities, Waterloo has "just grown" with little regard for city planning; and many of the problems which face the city today have resulted from the fact that the early settlers of this area, being only human, were unable to see the changes in man's way of life which have taken place in the past hundred years. In an agrarian society where families live apart the problems of human relationships are not as complex as they are in an urban society where your nearest neighbors may be only the other side of a thin wall. The problems faced by Waterloo closely resemble those faced by any city which grew up from the vast territories annexed to the thirteen colonies to make up the United States.

The first European power to claim the land area west of the Mississippi River was France. Its territorial claim was based on the explorations of Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet, who came down the Mississippi River in 1673, and on the voyages of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, who explored up the Mississippi from 1679 to 1683.²

Randolph Street on the west border. These streets formed the north, east, west, and south borders of the original two plats.

¹Information from Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, telephone call, Waterloo, Iowa, July 8, 1974.

²William Langer, An Encyclopedia of World History (New York: H. Wolff, 1948), p. 507.

LaSalle gave the area the name of "Louisiana" in honor of Louis XIV.¹ Until 1763, when it was ceded to Spain, France regarded the area from the Mississippi to the Pacific as a possession.²

Spain controlled the area from 1763 to 1800 when Napoleon reclaimed the Mississippi Valley from the Spanish for France.³ Louisiana became a part of the United States

¹"The French now had their vastly expanded empire. Under their rule, other places--not Iowa--became centers of French power, wealth, and culture. In view of the eventual importance of Prairie du Chien as Wisconsin's second oldest settlement, it was Iowa's special misfortune that this important French outpost was not located on the Iowa side of the river; it might have become the first white settlement on Iowa soil" [Leland L. Sage, A History of Iowa (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1974), p. 34].

²In discussing this phase of the development of Iowa, Leland L. Sage states, "The early wars of imperialism must be passed over here. The student of Iowa history cannot ignore, however, the results of two wars: the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), and the War of American Revolution. By their victories the British gained a great advantage in the struggle for global domination then in progress, even though the French were shrewd enough to make a secret transfer of their lands west of the Mississippi to Spain in 1762 to prevent their falling into British hands, a transfer publicly acknowledged in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. A final decision as to possession of the lands between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi was postponed, but it was clear that either the British or their successors, either as conquerors or natural heirs, would control its settlement. The fate of Iowa was involved to this extent: the final owners of the trans-Allegheny lands would most likely be the eventual owners of the trans-Mississippi lands as well" (Ibid.).

³Langer, op. cit., p. 452.

as a result of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.¹

Although France, Spain, and later the United States claimed the area called "Louisiana," none of these people had any idea of the vast amount of land included in the area which they controlled.

The French made no effort to establish settlements west of the Mississippi River; and, although they may have sent traders to obtain furs in this area, they did not establish permanent bases west of Prairie du Chien.² Under the Spanish, some small effort was made to establish a few permanent settlements. The city of St. Louis was founded in 1764;³ and Julien Dubuque, in 1788, was given permission to establish a settlement for the purpose of mining lead in an area including the present site of the city of Dubuque as well as northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin.⁴ Therefore, in 1803, the population of the northern part of the Louisiana Territory was made up almost entirely of roving bands of Indians.

¹It was during the Spanish-control period that the Sauk and Fox Indians, fleeing the wrath of the French, settled in eastern Iowa. This is probably the group of Indians which claimed the Black Hawk County area as their home and hunting ground since this was the group from whom the area was purchased (Sage, op. cit., pp. 24 f).

²Sage, op. cit., p. 34.

³Charles Ashton, James O. Crosby, and J. W. Jarnagin, A Handbook of Iowa (n.p.: n.n., 1893), p. 4.

⁴Ibid.

There is no way of knowing the extent of the Indian population in Iowa, since the tribes who occupied this territory were nomadic; it is possible, however, from the record of transfers of land in Iowa from the Indians to the United States government, to state that the Sauks, Foxes, Pottawattomies, Winnebagos, Ioways, Otoes, Omahas, and Sioux regarded sections within the present borders of the state as belonging primarily to them.¹

When Louisiana was purchased in 1803, it became necessary for Congress to establish some type of territorial government; therefore, in 1804, Congress passed a bill dividing the area into two parts--the Territory of Orleans and the District of Louisiana, of which Iowa was a part. In order to get some idea of the area which had been purchased,² Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark were sent on a journey of exploration which took them up the Missouri River in 1804.³ In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike traveled up the Mississippi to explore the land, and it was at this time that descriptions of central Iowa were recorded for the first time by a white man.⁴ Lieutenant Pike named the section of Iowa along the present Cedar River "Black Hawk" after the Indian Chief of the same name,

¹Sage, op. cit., pp. 23 ff.

²Ibid., p. 36.

³Ibid., pp. 36 f.

⁴Ashton, Crosby, and Jarnagin, op. cit., pp. 4 f.

and he called the major tributary of the Iowa River the "Red Cedar" because of the red cedar trees which grew there.¹ Although the land was visited by Captain Lewis and Captain Clark; explored to a certain extent by Lieutenant Pike; and visited by hunters, trappers, and Indian traders, it was not until 1824--20 years after these explorations--that the government purchased more than 119,000 acres at the junction of the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers and opened the first section in Iowa for settlement.²

After the exploration of Captain Lewis and Captain Clark had given the country some idea of the vast expanse of territory which made up Louisiana and after the more densely settled area surrounding the old colony of New Orleans gave those people a right to petition for statehood in 1812, under the name Louisiana, it was necessary to change the name of the Territory of Louisiana; and it was renamed the Territory of Missouri.³ The old settlement of St. Louis was growing, too, as settlers poured across the river into the new territory. In 1819, Missouri petitioned

¹Earl C. Glasson and others, Waterloo's Centennial Prairidrama Souvenir Program, 1854-1954 (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1954), p. 9.

²Sage, op. cit., p. 45.

³Iowa: The Home for Immigrants being a Treatise on the Resources of Iowa and Giving Useful Information with Regard to the State, for the Benefit of Immigrants and Others (1870; rept. State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI), Iowa City, Iowa: Athens Press, 1970), p. 8.

for statehood; but because of the balance of slave and free states, it was not admitted to the Union until 1820 after Congress acted to admit Missouri as a slave state and Maine, formerly a part of Massachusetts, as a free state, thus maintaining the balance of free and slave states in the Union.¹

The territory was then reorganized, and Iowa became a part of the Michigan Territory in 1834.² However, in 1836, when the admission of Michigan became a probability, the Territory of Wisconsin was created with its capital at what is now Burlington, Iowa.³ By 1838, the population of Wisconsin was sufficient for it to petition for statehood, and the Territory of Iowa was formed including the present state of Iowa, most of Minnesota, and the eastern half of the two Dakotas.⁴

The following year a commission was appointed to locate a capital for the Iowa Territory;⁵ and, in 1841, the capital was moved to what is now Iowa City.⁶

¹"The Missouri Compromise of 1820 prohibited slavery in the territory of the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36° 30' after Missouri was admitted as a slave state" [William Houlette, Iowa The Pioneer Heritage (Des Moines, Iowa: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1970), p. 139].

²Iowa: The Home for Immigrants, op. cit., p. 8.

³Sage, op. cit., p. 57. ⁴Ibid., pp. 59 f.

⁵Ibid., p. 62. ⁶Ibid., p. 63.

At this time only a small portion of the present state was open to settlement. The federal government acquired the land in Iowa from the Indians and opened it for settlement over a period of 27 years. The first purchase, in 1824, acquired for the federal government only a small corner of what is now Lee County.¹

In 1830, a strip of land was set aside by treaty for the purpose of regulating Indian affairs. The "Neutral Zone," as it was called, was a strip of land 40 miles wide which ran diagonally from the northeastern corner of present Iowa to the Des Moines River near the present city of Fort Dodge. This "Neutral Zone" was formed to separate the Sioux and their enemies, the Winnebagos.²

In 1832, the second purchase, the Black Hawk Purchase, acquired a large segment of land extending from the "Neutral Zone" in the north to the purchase of 1824, and the small segment purchased in 1836 opened for settlement the first two lines of counties along the Mississippi River.³

¹Ibid., p. 19. It is interesting to note that the land in Iowa was purchased twice--territorial rights from France in 1803 and the land itself from the Indians in various segments from 1824 to 1851.

²Cyrenus Cole, A History of the People of Iowa (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1921), p. 80.

³Sage, op. cit., p. 42, figure 3.2. In this figure Sage shows the purchases from 1824 to 1851 superimposed over a map showing the present counties of Iowa. The boundaries of all of the following purchases are taken from this map.

In 1837, a third purchase opened the land for settlement all the way to a line just east of the eastern border of Black Hawk County; and, in 1842, the largest purchase in Iowa, from the Sauk and Fox Indians,¹ opened the entire central area south of the "Neutral Zone" to the white man. However, the Indians were allowed a year to move from east of the Red Rocks, and it was not until 1843 that settlers began to establish homesteads in this section of Iowa. Further purchases in 1846 and 1851 opened the remaining land from the Mississippi to the Missouri River, so that by the end of 1851 all of Iowa was open for settlement.

As sections of land were obtained by the government, surveyors were sent in to mark the topographical features. In 1832, Captain Nathan Boone surveyed and marked the "Neutral Zone" established in 1830.² In 1835, Lieutenant Stephen Watts Kearney marched up the Des Moines River in search of sites for new and permanent forts and made a visit to Chief Wabashta who was camped on the Mississippi River; this journey took him across the valley of the Cedar.³ With him was Lieutenant Albert M. Lea, who popularized the area of central Iowa in a book entitled

¹Edith Wasson McElroy, Years of Valor (n.p.: n.n., 1969), p. 71.

²Baldwin, op. cit., p. 79.

³Sage, op. cit., pp. 56 f.

Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase.¹

As each purchase was made the government sent surveyors into the territory and county lines were drawn. After the purchase of 1842 and the removal of the Indians, the counties of central Iowa were marked. In 1843, Black Hawk County was formed and the still unsettled lands were attached for judicial purposes, with other lands, to Delaware County.² In 1845, Black Hawk was removed from jurisdiction of Delaware County and placed under the control of Benton County;³ and, from 1850 to 1852, when it became an independent county, Black Hawk was under the control of Buchanan County.⁴ Although a county seat was established at Cedar Falls in 1852, it was not until 1853 that the records were transferred from Buchanan County to the new Black Hawk County seat.⁵

¹Albert M. Lea, Notes on the Wisconsin Territory; Particularly with Reference to the Iowa District, or Black Hawk Purchase (1836; rpt. as The Book That Gave Iowa Its Name SHSI. Iowa City, Iowa: Athens Press, 1935).

²Peter Melendy, Historical Record of Cedar Falls, The Garden City of Iowa, Containing a Brief History of Iowa, of Black Hawk County, and a Full and Complete Description of Industrial and Picturesque Cedar Falls (Cedar Falls, Iowa: Peter Melendy, 1893), p. 7.

³Historical and Biographical Record of Black Hawk County, Iowa (Chicago: The Inter-State Publishing Company, 1886), p. 509.

⁴Melendy, op. cit., p. 8.

⁵Ibid.

The movement of the jurisdiction of Black Hawk County gives some indication of the movement of settlers coming into central Iowa. Delaware County is the second county in the same tier from the Mississippi River. Although the people coming to central Iowa came both overland and up the Cedar River by boat, the movement of the jurisdiction of this county would seem to indicate that the Cedar River, coming as it did from the most populous counties in Iowa, drew more people in those early years than did the overland trail, coming as it did from the city of Dubuque.¹

By this time the steamboats were an established method of travel on the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The people who came from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio often found it easier and cheaper to come down the Ohio by boat to its junction with the Mississippi and then up the Mississippi to Iowa rather than to make the trip overland. Cities such as Montrose, Burlington, and Fort Madison became the gateways of the central and western parts of the state in the period before the railroads.²

¹When the two original counties, Du Buque and Des Moines, were divided into 16 counties in 1838, the census revealed that in the four counties in the southeastern corner of the state--Van Buren, Lee, Henry, and Des Moines--the total population was 13,676, while in the other twelve counties the entire population was 9,183 [John Plumbe, Jr., Sketches of Iowa and Wisconsin (St. Louis: Chambers, Harris, and Knapp, 1839; rpt. SHSI. Iowa City, Iowa: Athens Press, 1948), p. 102].

²Ashton, Crosby, and Jarnagin, op. cit., pp. 9 f.

1846-1865 - A CITY BEGINS

The area containing Black Hawk County was opened for settlement in 1843.¹ Two white men are known to have visited the region before this time; Paul Somaneux, a trapper and Indian trader, and Robert Stuart, a surveyor, built a cabin in the vicinity of Sturgis Falls, later Cedar Falls, in the spring of 1837 and stayed for a part of the year trapping and trading with the Indians.² Seven years later, in 1844, William Chambers and William Bros built cabins in the area that is now the city of Cedar Falls; but they did not file claims, and they only stayed one winter.³ None of these four could be called permanent settlers since they only planned to spend a short amount of time in this area.

The first people who came to establish homesteads arrived in 1845, three years after the purchase of the area. William Sturgis, and his family, and Erasmus Adams, and his family, settled at Sturgis Falls (now called Cedar Falls) in March of that year.⁴ Later they were joined by John

¹The History of Black Hawk County, Iowa (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1878), pp. 178 f.

²Peter Melendy, Historical Record of Cedar Falls, The Garden City of Iowa, Containing a Brief History of Iowa, of Black Hawk County, and a Full and Complete Description of Industrial and Picturesque Cedar Falls (Cedar Falls, Iowa: Peter Melendy, 1893), p. 32.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid.

Hamilton and his two sons. Hamilton is credited with being the first white person to break sod in Black Hawk County, but the Hamiltons decided they did not like the country so they moved on.¹

George Hanna, his wife, two children, and John Melrose crossed the Cedar River seven miles southeast of Sturgis Falls at a place called Prairie Rapids Crossing (now Waterloo). The Hannas filed a claim for land about half way between Sturgis Falls and Prairie Rapids Crossing; while John Melrose, having viewed the land, left sometime during the fall and did not return until the following year with his family.² About two months after the Hannas arrived, they were joined by William Virden, his wife, and daughter, who also settled on the west side of the Cedar River.³

At the end of 1845, the total population of Black Hawk County was 13 people: William Sturgis, his wife, and two children and Erasmus Adams, his wife, and son at Sturgis Falls; George Hanna, his wife and one remaining

¹Historical and Biographical Record of Black Hawk County, Iowa (Chicago: The Inter-State Publishing Company, 1886), p. 501.

²Isaiah Van Metre, ed., History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904), p. 24.

³Ibid.

child¹ and William Virden, his wife, and daughter at Prairie Rapids Crossing.² On January 1, 1846, the total population of the area which later became Waterloo was six people.³

When Iowa became a state in 1846,⁴ the population of Black Hawk County was growing slowly. James Virden, the first person to settle on the east side of the river; John Melrose and his wife; and Charles Mullan, his wife, and two children arrived at Prairie Rapids Crossing.⁵ Andrew Jackson Taylor and his family settled at Sturgis Falls that year,⁶ and James Newell, who had come to explore the area in 1845, brought his family from Muscatine and settled at Turkey Foot Forks (now Finchford).⁷ They were soon joined

¹The youngest son of George and Mary Hanna died October 18, 1845, the first death in Black Hawk County (Melendy, op. cit., p. 25).

²Van Metre, loc. cit.

³Calculated by subtracting William Sturgis, his wife, two children and Erasmus Adams, his wife, and son at Sturgis Falls (7 people) from the total of 13.

⁴Charles Ashton, James O. Crosby, and J. W. Jarnagin, A Handbook of Iowa (n.p.: n.n., 1893), p. 5.

⁵Van Metre, op. cit., p. 26.

⁶Melendy, op. cit., p. 7.

⁷James Newell had first heard about the beauties of the Red Cedar Valley from Captain Nathan Boone. In 1845, he and Harris Wilson explored along the banks of the Red Cedar River and Newell determined to settle there. Later the

by E. G. Young and his family.¹

By the end of 1846, the total population of Black Hawk County had more than doubled. The arrival of seven new settlers at Prairie Rapids Crossing brought its total population to 13.² The total population of Black Hawk County had risen from four families in the winter of 1845 to ten families in the winter of 1846.³

Unlike Paul Somaneux and Robert Stuart, the arrivals of 1845 and 1846 had come to stay. They tilled the soil, built cabins, and produced crops those first years. In 1846, the year of his arrival, James Newell raised a crop of 500 bushels of corn.⁴ In 1845, William Sturgis began to build a brush dam across the Cedar River,⁵ and the

same summer, Newell again came up the Red Cedar with his brother and three other men, and they built a cabin near Turkey Foot Forks. They returned to Muscatine and it was not until 1846 that Newell moved his family to their new residence at Turkey Foot Forks [Robert Messerly and Lila Messerly, The Turkey Foot (n.p.: n.n., 1969), p. 8].

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²See Chapter 3, pp. 97 ff.

³Clarence W. Baldwin, Crossroads on the Cedar (Waterloo, Iowa: Pioneer Advertising Company, 1969), p. 28.

⁴Messerly, op. cit., p. 8.

⁵Although William Sturgis worked on his brush dam for two years, he had neither the money nor the help to complete it; and in 1847, he sold it along with his claim to D. C. Overman and John T. Barrick (Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 504).

following year the first schoolhouse was built at Sturgis Falls where Mrs. Andrew Jackson Taylor gave lessons to six children.¹ In the same year, the first Black Hawk County election was held at the home of Erasmus Adams.² At Prairie Rapids Crossing, two churches were begun--the Methodist Class, which met at the home of George Hanna,³ and the First Methodist Society, which met at the home of William Virden.⁴

Although, under the provisions of the treaty with the Indians which concluded the 1842 purchase, all of the Sauks and Foxes had left the area, there were still Indians in and around Black Hawk County. The Indian trail from Fort Atkinson to Indian Town on the Iowa River passed near what is now Waterloo.⁵ In 1846, the Sioux made a raid down the Cedar River and killed nine Winnebagos near Turkey Foot Forks.⁶ In December of 1846, 250 Winnebagos camped near

¹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 26.

²Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 509.

³"First Methodist Church Serving Waterloo 108 Years," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 3.

⁴"Present Homes of Waterloo's Pioneer Churches," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 12.

⁵Baldwin, op. cit., pp. 16 ff. On pp. 18 f, a photo-stated map of the Original Survey Plat of Waterloo Township, 1846, shows trails.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 27.

James Newell's cabin at Turkey Foot Forks. They were joined by a band of 250 Pottawattomies in February of 1847. In the spring, the bands broke camp, made sugar at "The Big Woods," and departed. The Winnebagos went up the Shell Rock River and the Pottawattomies went south down the Cedar River and must have passed close to Sturgis Falls and Prairie Rapids Crossing.¹ Later, in 1847, the Winnebagos surprised a band of Sioux about 20 miles north of Turkey Foot Forks and killed 27 squaws and papooses.² There are records of Indian visits to the George Hanna cabin, and early residents of Prairie Rapids Crossing used to gather to watch the Indians as they passed the peace pipe at their councils or held dances at the "Big Oak Tree" which stood on the site of the present John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company.³ This may have been one reason why the population of the area grew slowly.

Only a few families are recorded as coming to the area in 1847. The John Overmans, the D. C. Overmans, and the John T. Barricks arrived at Sturgis Falls and, in the

¹Messerly, op. cit., p. 10.

²Some authors believe that the actual number killed were one brave and one boy, but that the number grew over the years with the telling (Van Metre, op. cit., p. 27).

³Earl C. Glasson and others, Waterloo's Centennial Prairidrama Souvenir Program, 1854-1954 (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1954), p. 11.

fall of that year, purchased the claim of William Sturgis, including the mill site and improvements.¹ Moses Bates established a claim on the banks of Spring Creek, but no one is recorded as having settled at Prairie Rapids Crossing that year.²

In 1848 and 1849, a number of new families arrived in Black Hawk County: the Peyton Culvers and John Robinsons settled near Moses Bates. The families of William Pennell, H. H. Meredith, J. D. Kirkpatrick, George Philpot, Jonathan R. Pratt, Edwin Brown, and Samuel Newell also came to the county and settled in the area of Sturgis Falls or Prairie Rapids Crossing.³

During these early years, Sturgis Falls was growing more rapidly than Prairie Rapids Crossing. In 1848, the Overmans and John T. Barrick completed the brush dam begun by William Sturgis and opened the first sawmill in Black Hawk County.⁴ The early records indicate that these first settlers tended to view Sturgis Falls as the better site for the development of industry and forecasted that it would

¹They bought 280 acres of land, part of which was in the original plat of Cedar Falls, and included the mill site and improvements, for the sum of \$2,200 (Van Metre, op. cit., p. 27).

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 28.

⁴Melendy, op. cit., p. 8.

become a thriving city.¹ In 1849, the first post office was established in Black Hawk County at Sturgis Falls with D. C. Overman as postmaster.² It was at this time that the name of the town was changed from Sturgis Falls to Cedar Falls.³

By the beginning of 1850 the population of Iowa had increased from 116,454⁴ in 1847 to 192,214 in 1850.⁵ This shows an increase of 75,760 for the state of Iowa. The population of Black Hawk County was growing much more slowly. On January 1, 1847, there were ten families⁶ in Black Hawk County and by the Census of 1850 the number had increased to 26 families, 135 people.⁷ Of these, 117 were

¹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 30.

²Melendy, op. cit., p. 8.

³Van Metre, op. cit., p. 30.

⁴Iowa Executive Council, Census of Iowa 1836-1880 (n.p.: n.n., 1880), p. 196.

⁵J. D. B. DeBow, Seventh Census of the United States (Washington: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), p. 943. The population for 1850 is for the Federal Census of that year. No population figures are given for the Indians in the state in 1847 or 1850, since Indians were not included in the census count. However, from James Newell's experience in the winter of 1846-1847, central Iowa must have had a relatively large transient Indian population. For Newell's experience see Messerly, op. cit., p. 10.

⁶The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 314.

⁷J. D. B. DeBow, Statistical View of the United States, Embracing Its Territory, Population--White, Free

below the age of 40, and many of them were children; there were 48 below the age of ten.¹

The 1850 Census listed nine farms in Black Hawk County with a total of 2,304 acres claimed;² this is a very small part of the 364,800 acres which make up the 570 square miles of Black Hawk County.³ The amount claimed in the county by 1850 totals about four square miles⁴ and the present city of Waterloo totals 59.13⁵ square miles. One industry is also listed for the county--the Overman Mill at Cedar Falls, with a capital investment of \$5,000, employing

Colored, and Slave--Moral and Social Condition, Industry, Property, and Revenue; The Detailed Statistics of Cities, Towns and Counties; Compendium of The Seventh Census, To Which Are Added The Results of Every Previous Census, Beginning With 1790, In Comparative Tables, With Explanatory And Illustrative Notes, Based Upon The Schedules And Other Official Sources of Information (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer, 1854), p. 232. (Hereafter referred to as Compendium of the Seventh Census.)

¹DeBow, Seventh Census of the United States, p. 943.

²DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 232.

³O. M. Nordly and others, Land Use Plan (Waterloo, Iowa: Metropolitan Planning Commission of Black Hawk County, 1967), p. 5. The 364,800 was obtained by multiplying 640--the number of acres in a square mile--by 570.

⁴Divide 640--the number of acres in one square mile--into 2,304--the number of acres of land claimed by 1850.

⁵Information from Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, telephone call, Waterloo, Iowa, June 15, 1974.

four people, and producing an annual product valued at \$2,000.¹

During the year 1850, Cedar Falls continued to grow as a business city. The first lawyer in the county settled there,² the first store was established there,³ and the Overmans added grinding stones at the sawmill to begin the first gristmill in Black Hawk County.⁴ Farmers came from as far away as 150 miles to have their grain ground at the Overmans' Mill.⁵

Prairie Rapids Crossing started a post office in 1850 and the name of the locale was changed to Waterloo.⁶

¹DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 235.

²Melendy, op. cit., p. 10.

³Ibid., p. 8.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶"In 1850, a petition was circulated asking for the establishment of a post office, [at Waterloo] naming Charles Mullan as postmaster. There were seven names signed to the petition probably embracing all citizens of petitioning age [and sex]. . . . In due time, he [Mr. Mullan] received his commission as postmaster of Waterloo, and first kept the office in a small basket or box at his residence in the west party of town." Mr. D. C. Overman, the postmaster at Cedar Falls, found an even more unique way of keeping the mail. The same author writes that ". . . for some time the mails were so small that the postmaster used to carry the letters in his hat, delivering them as he happened to meet the persons addressed. It is not known that there were any other carrier deliveries in the State at that time, and Mr. Overman may be called the pioneer letter carrier of Iowa" (Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., pp. 505 f., 567).

During the year 1851, the original town of Cedar Falls was surveyed and platted, but for some reason the plat was not filed at that time.¹

The early settlers of Waterloo lived on widely-scattered claims. None of their homes were in the area which was to make up the first combined plat of the city.² The Hanna home was located south³ of the Cedar River about

¹Melendy, op. cit., p. 8.

²"Originally the city of Waterloo was two towns, the business centers of two townships, Waterloo and East Waterloo, divided by the river, connected by ferry and bridge. Their business became identical and the union followed. In as much as goes to make up their business and educational and religious life, they are still two identities. They have two separate business organizations, West Waterloo having a Chamber of Commerce, East Waterloo a Board of Trade and Commercial Club. Each has a school organization of its own and in many other ways of development they are separate. As a result, a spirit of friendly rivalry exists, each side striving to secure the lead of the other in growth, yet determined that, where necessary, joint effort shall secure what divided interest cannot in improvement, location of new enterprises or public benefit" [Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa Containing Maps of Cities, Towns, Villages and Townships of the County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Publishing Company, 1910), p. 126].

Although the two towns have united the Chamber of Commerce and the school system, the County Recorder's office still separates the files of additions and plats into one series of books for East Waterloo and one series of books for West Waterloo.

³The location of the Hanna home was geographically south of the Cedar River. In this area of Black Hawk County, the Cedar River flows from northwest to southeast diagonally across the county. In Waterloo, the divisions are spoken of as the "East" side of the river and the "West" side of the river; however, what is called the "East" side is actually geographically north of the Cedar and what is called the "West" is geographically south of

half way between the present cities of Waterloo and Cedar Falls. The Mullan claim was the closest to the early plat and included some land which was in the first plat, but their home was built outside the area.¹ The eighty-acre tract owned by Mr. Charles Mullan extended west along the Cedar and included all the land on which the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company was later built.² The James Virden claim was almost directly across the Cedar River from the Mullan claim but did not include any of the land which was to make up the east side of the first plat.³ The first entry of land bought within the area of the future city was filed in 1847 when George Hanna entered lots, 1, 2, and 3, of Section 26. He did not, however, build a home there until 1852.⁴

By 1852, the population of Black Hawk County had grown from 135 people in 1850 to 315 people.⁵ George Hanna built a cabin, the first structure to be built in the area

the river. The largest percentage of the residential district in the city of Waterloo as well as the area called "Castle Hill" and "Cedar Heights" as well as the major portion of the present city of Cedar Falls lie south of the Cedar River. See Map p. 293 and Map p. 290.

¹Ibid.

²Glasson, loc. cit.

³See Map p. 290.

⁴Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 566.

⁵Ibid., p. 505.

which later became the first plat of Waterloo,¹ and the same year Samuel Aldrich built a rude shanty which was the first structure to be built on the original plat of the east side of the city of Waterloo.² In 1852, two more churches were begun--the Catholics held a service for the first time³ and the First Methodist Episcopal church had a regular appointment with a circuit rider meeting at the home of James Virden on the east side.⁴

During the next two years, the population of the city of Waterloo and the population of Black Hawk County both showed a great increase. By 1854, Black Hawk County had grown to 2,514 people⁵ and the population of Waterloo was 300.⁶

In 1853, the city of Waterloo was surveyed and platted on each side of the river and a combined plat was filed with the area about equally divided on the east and west sides.⁷ The total plat covered an area of a little

¹Ibid., p. 566. ²Ibid.

³Glasson, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 395.

⁵Census of Iowa 1836-1880, op. cit., pp. 196 f.

⁶The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 384.

⁷Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 566.

less than .8 of one square mile.¹ Business was increasing, too. Two boarding houses--one with a tavern--were opened on the west side of the river;² and one, in the city's first frame building, was opened on the east side.³ A store was opened on the east side of the river;⁴ and on the west side, a schoolhouse was built to be used for school during the week and by three different denominations on alternate Sundays for church meetings.⁵ The first saw-mill run by horsepower was started in Waterloo,⁶ and Samuel May was given a license to operate a ferry.⁷

In 1852, Black Hawk County had been created as an independent county,⁸ and on June 9, 1853, the commissioners

¹See Footnote 2, Chapter 2, p. 43.

²The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 380.

³Van Metre, op. cit., p. 180.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa, op. cit., p. 121.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 180.

⁷It was stipulated in the ferry license issued to Samuel May that people crossing the Cedar River on Sunday to attend church services and voters going to and from the polls on election day were to be carried free ("Order Free Ferry Rides on Sabbath," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. I, p. 4).

⁸Melendy, op. cit., p. 8.

met in Cedar Falls and voted to locate the county seat in that city.¹ A county organization was immediately adopted and land was donated to the city of Cedar Falls for the construction of a courthouse.² During this year, Cedar Falls was again surveyed and the plat was filed.³ Cedar Falls also organized the first school district and built the first public school in Black Hawk County.⁴

Although both the east side and the west side of Waterloo were surveyed and platted in 1853, the plat was not filed until 1854.⁵ At this time, there were 17 buildings in the area encompassed by the plat.⁶ During the year 1854, two more boarding houses--one on the west side⁷ and one on the east side⁸--were established; stores were

¹Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 509.

²The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 323.

³John R. Cameron purchased the first lot ever sold in Black Hawk County in 1853. He paid \$10.50 for a lot in Cedar Falls (Melendy, op. cit., p. 9).

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵County Recorder's Office (Black Hawk County Courthouse, Waterloo, Iowa), plat book A, p. 85.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 178.

⁷The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., pp. 380 f.

⁸Van Metre, op. cit., p. 183.

opened on both sides of the river,¹ the First Baptist Church was organized,² and the Presbyterians completed a church building.³ The first dam was built in Waterloo that year, and James Eggers opened a sawmill--Waterloo's second.⁴ A grocery store was opened on the east side,⁵ and the first bank was opened in the city of Waterloo doing business in the corner of a west side store.⁶ In the nine years from 1845 to 1854, the population of the city of Waterloo had grown from six people to 300, and the population of Black Hawk County had grown from 13 people, that first winter, to 2,514.⁷

The early settlers who came to this area came by boat up the Cedar River and by covered wagons across the prairie, many of them making a long water journey down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi River to points of

¹Ibid.

²Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 579.

³The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 398.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., p. 182.

⁵The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 382.

⁶Ibid., p. 183.

⁷See Footnote 5, Chapter 3, p. 109 and Footnote 6, Chapter 3, p. 109.

debarkation in such cities as Montrose, Burlington, Fort Madison, and Dubuque and then coming the remainder of the way in wagons, small boats, or by stagecoach. However, by 1854, the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad had reached the Mississippi River¹ and the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad had begun preliminary surveys as far west as Black Hawk County and was already running its trains as far west as Masonville.² In the 11 years from 1843, when Black Hawk County was created, to 1854, when the combined plat was filed for the city of Waterloo, 2,514 people, mostly farmers, had settled in this area. Most of these people had come to stay, and they formed the nucleus of the present cities and towns in Black Hawk County.³

¹Ashton, Crosby, and Jarnagin, op. cit., pp. 52 f.

²Glasson, op. cit., p. 2.

³By 1850, no industries except sawmills and grist-mills had been started in Black Hawk County but this situation seems to have been general in the state. According to the Federal Census of 1840, only 1,629 people in Iowa were engaged in any type of manufacture; and, by the 1850 Federal Census, this number had increased by less than 100 people, with 1,707 engaged in manufacture [United States Department of State, Compendium of The Enumeration of The Inhabitants and Statistics of The United States As Obtained At The Department of State, From The Returns of The Sixth Census, By Counties and Principal Towns, Exhibiting the Population, Wealth, and Resources of The Country. To Which Is Added An Abstract of Each Preceding Census (Washington: Thomas Allen, Public Printer, 1841), p. 108].

The figures for 1850 are taken from DeBow, Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 129.

The coming of the railroad to a point about 40 miles from Waterloo brought a large upsurge of the population in 1855. In an article in the December 8, 1855, issue of the Iowa State Register entitled "Waterloo--Its Population, Business Position and Prospects" the writer comments on the fact that the population of Waterloo, which was 300 in 1854, had grown to 714 by June and by December 1 had reached 903, with 657 on the west side and 246 on the east side.¹ The Iowa State Register was Waterloo's first newspaper started in 1855, and probably its biggest story was the fight for the location of the courthouse.²

As early as 1854, the residents of Waterloo were trying to get the county seat changed from Cedar Falls to Waterloo; and, on January 19, 1855, an election was authorized to settle the issue.³ The election, held on April 2, 1855, indicated that a majority of the people, 388, favored Waterloo, while a minority, 260, favored Cedar Falls;⁴ and, on July 4, 1855, the county records were to be moved. July 4 came and went, and the county records were not sent; therefore, on July 27 a court order was issued,

¹Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 571.

²Ibid.

³The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 336.

⁴Ibid.

and the records were finally moved from Cedar Falls to Waterloo.¹

The next question which arose was where to build the courthouse. The original plat of Waterloo designated a square block of land on the east side as "Courthouse Square" and a similar block of land on the west side as "Public Square," but some of the west side residents wanted the courthouse on the west side of the river. The issue was submitted to the people in an election held on December 10, 1855; and, of the 731 ballots cast, 467 were for the east side and 264 were "for the side that would pay the most money for the location and erection of the county buildings. . . ." ² The final decision of the exact location of the courthouse on the east side was County Judge John Randall's prerogative, and the courthouse was located on Block 20 of the east side plat. ³

¹Ibid., p. 337.

²Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 94.

³During the election campaign of the previous year, Judge John Randall had promised that if he were elected as County Judge, he would submit the question for location to the entire county. This led some people to believe that after the election had determined that the courthouse should be erected on the east side, the people would have some voice in the placement. They did not. "It is now generally understood that certain town lots in which Mr. Randall had an interest influenced Judge Randall in making this selection, dim visions perhaps of a bridge across the Red Cedar at that point, and consequently an entire change of location of the business of the town. Speculation was rampant,

The contract for the courthouse was let in 1856 and the contract price was \$12,747.61; however, since many changes were made in the original plans, the final price was about \$27,000 when the courthouse was completed in 1857.¹

On May 29, 1855, an election was held for determining whether or not Waterloo would be incorporated; and, as a result of a majority of 67 out of the 677 voting, Waterloo was incorporated as a city of the second class, and the first election was held for city officials.² During this year a sawmill was erected on the east side of the river,³ and the first schoolhouse was built on the east side.⁴ B. J. Capwell erected a two-story stone building with a hall on the second floor. This hall was used for dances, social gatherings, and large meetings for a number

and it is said that river lots on the west side, opposite Randall's location of the courthouse sold for \$500 in gold but the location of the bridge on Fourth Street punctuated the glittering bauble and permanently fixed the business part of the city several blocks up the river" (Ibid., p. 513).

¹The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 343.

²Ibid., p. 387.

³Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 569.

⁴The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 389.

of years.¹ During the year the first county agent to sell liquor was appointed in Black Hawk County.²

City and county continued growing in 1856, and the census of that year revealed a total population in Black Hawk County of 5,538 people.³ In May of that year, the National Congress made its first grant of land to aid railroad building in Iowa,⁴ and Des Moines was selected as the site for the state capital.⁵

A flour mill was put in operation in Waterloo,⁶ and a second bank was opened on the west side.⁷ There were several new organizations in Waterloo by the end of 1856. The Black Hawk County Agricultural Society was organized,⁸ and the Western Literary Society aimed at improving its

¹"It's Been Fun! A Century of Nostalgic Memories Lingers as Social Life in Waterloo Changes," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VI, p. 15.

²Melendy, op. cit., p. 117.

³Census of Iowa 1836-1880, op. cit., pp. 196 f.

⁴Leland L. Sage, A History of Iowa (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1974), p. 109.

⁵William J. Petersen, "Of Time and Weather," Palimpsest, L (January, 1969), 19.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 180.

⁷The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 383.

⁸Although it was called the Black Hawk County Agricultural Society, the organization was for Waterloo area

members "in the art of extemporaneous speaking and general literature. . . ." ¹ was formed. Two new churches--the First Congregational ² and St. Mark's Episcopal ³--were organized, and for the first time the Methodists had a regular minister--the first one in the city of Waterloo. ⁴ There was also a Seminary for Young Ladies conducted by J. B. Hewitt. ⁵ The year ended with the biggest blizzard Waterloo has ever experienced. The storm lasted for three days. ⁶

Very little expansion took place in Waterloo during 1857. ⁷ The Panic of 1857 affected this city as well as the rest of the nation. One flour mill is recorded as the only

residents only. For the same year, Cedar Falls residents formed their own--The Cedar Valley Agricultural District Society A. T. Andreas, Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Company, 1875), p. 440.

¹"Two-Year-Old City Attends to Culture," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 4.

²"Present Homes of Waterloo's Pioneer Churches," loc. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 572.

⁶William J. Petersen, "When Blizzards Blow," Palimpsest, XXVI (March, 1945), 76 f.

⁷Van Metre, op. cit., p. 187.

addition to the business of the city.¹ The first Masonic Lodge was formed in Waterloo that year;² and, although at the time it did not seem to affect Waterloo, William H. Hartman came to Cedar Falls and established the newspaper the Cedar Falls Banner.³ During the next year, on December 25, 1858, Mr. Hartman moved his presses from Cedar Falls to Waterloo and established the Waterloo Daily Courier which is still in existence.⁴

The United States government declared the Cedar River navigable and the first steamboat named Black Hawk made its appearance in Waterloo, in 1858.⁵ A footbridge was erected across the Cedar River,⁶ but since the year 1858 is known as the year of the high water, when, on August 1, the river stopped the mills, overflowed its banks, and turned the city into a group of islands, it is

¹Baldwin, op. cit., p. 81.

²Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 592.

³Melendy, op. cit., p. 122.

⁴John C. Hartman, History of Black Hawk County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), p. 267.

⁵Melendy, op. cit., p. 47.

⁶F. Gwynne Weston, The Story of Waterloo. The Factory City of Iowa (Waterloo, Iowa: Stewart-Simmons Company, 1928), p. 7.

doubtful that the footbridge survived very long.¹ A stone schoolhouse was built on the east side and the structure still survives and is now being used as a church.² Waterloo had organized one more cultural group--The Harmonic Society.³

By 1858, the character of the pioneers coming to Iowa had changed. In the early years, the settlers were largely farmers, but many of those coming now were doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional men.⁴

During 1859 a wagon bridge, paid for by private subscriptions, was built across the Cedar River.⁵ On January 18, William H. Hartman published the first issue of the Blackhawk Courier,⁶ and on November 22 he published the first issue of the paper, the Waterloo Daily Courier.⁷ Industry was beginning to develop in the area and in 1859

¹The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 385.

²This building is located on West Parker Street.

³Frank A. Mullin, "Gleanings of an Editor," Palimpsest, VI (July, 1925), 258.

⁴William J. Petersen, "Immigrants from Near and Far," Palimpsest, XLIX (July, 1968), 302.

⁵Weston, loc. cit.

⁶William J. Petersen, "The Blackhawk Courier," Palimpsest, XL (February, 1959), 66.

⁷Hartman, loc. cit.

Martin White opened a terra cotta manufactory, the first pottery works, in the city of Cedar Falls.¹

From 1845 until 1860, the population of the city of Waterloo had grown from 6 to 1,800 and the population of Black Hawk County was now 8,244, of which 8,226 were white and 18 were free colored.² The Census of 1860 also lists 37 manufacturing establishments in Black Hawk County, of which 12 were sawmills and 5 were flour mills.³ However, the largest number of people in the county were still engaged in farming. There were 637 farms in Black Hawk County of which 522 were between 20 acres and 100 acres.⁴ The county had grown in population so that now there were 70

¹Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Old Pottery Shop," Palimpsest, XXVIII (August, 1947), 239.

²The Federal Census of 1860 furnishes the first information on Negroes in Black Hawk County when 18 are listed in the population table [Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census: 1860 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), p. 256]. During that year a traveling troupe of players were in Cedar Falls. The troupe contained a Negro who was introduced to the audience between acts as a "Bone of Contention." This constitutes the first reported incident of racial discrimination in Black Hawk County (Melendy, op. cit., p. 81).

³United States Department of the Interior, Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of The Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 147.

⁴United States Department of the Interior, Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of The Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 199.

public schools.¹ Several new towns had been surveyed and platted: Ottawa in 1854; La Porte City in 1855; Gilbertville, Janesville, and Cedar City in 1856; Hudson in 1857; and Orange Township and Brooklyn founded in 1860.²

Although the railroad had reached Masonville 40 miles east of Waterloo in 1854, it still had not reached the Waterloo-Cedar Falls area.³ In 1860, the people of Cedar Falls organized the Minnesota Railroad, but track was not laid.⁴ In the same year, George D. Perkins founded the Cedar Falls Gazette which became a dynamic influence on the thought of the Upper Cedar River valley during the Civil War.⁵

On March 1, 1861, the first railroad train of the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad arrived at Waterloo,⁶ and 14 days later, track was completed so that the train could reach Cedar Falls.⁷

¹Glasson, op. cit., p. 19.

²Van Metre, op. cit., pp. 231 ff.

³The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 374.

⁴Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 562.

⁵E. P. Heizer, "A Journalist of Purpose," Palimpsest, V (August, 1924), 278.

⁶The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 386.

⁷Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 562.

Waterloo had grown to such an extent that the need for fire protection was felt, and Waterloo's first fire company was formed--a volunteer company, Hook and Ladder Number One.¹

On April 16 news of the outbreak of the Civil War reached Iowa.² Lincoln requested one regiment of ten companies from Iowa, but feelings were so strong and so many Iowans volunteered that two additional regiments had to be organized.³ The first regiment of ten companies was called "The First Iowa Regiment," and were ordered to assemble at Keokuk.⁴ One of these companies, the soldiers from Black Hawk County and surrounding areas, The Pioneer Greys, entrained at Cedar Falls to join the First Iowa Regiment.⁵ The day they left, 5,000 people gathered at Cedar Falls to see them entrain.⁶ Cedar Falls citizens

¹"Volunteer Firemen Blaze Way to Glory," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IX, p. 3.

²William J. Petersen, "Of Time and Weather," Palimpsest, L (January, 1969), 19.

³William Houlette, Iowa The Pioneer Heritage (Des Moines, Iowa: Wallace-Homestead Book Company, 1970), p. 167.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Luella M. Wright, "A 'Tater Patch for Soldiers,'" Palimpsest, XXII (August, 1941), 240 ff.

⁶Ibid.

gave each soldier a fatigue uniform and set up a fund of \$500, locally subscribed, for the relief of soldiers' families.¹ Before the Civil War had ended, soldiers from Iowa had served in almost every major campaign and soldiers from Black Hawk County, though mostly under General Ulysses S. Grant's command, had also served under other major officers in the Civil War.² There is a record of five Black Hawk County citizens buried at Andersonville. Among the 209 known dead from Iowa, two were from Cedar Falls, two from La Porte City, and one from "East Waterloo."³

During the years from 1861 to 1865, expansion in business and industry was still slow. Some building was going on in the Waterloo area. A new church was organized⁴ and "East" Waterloo's first central school building was constructed.⁵ The telegraph line was completed to Cedar Falls in 1863,⁶ and in 1864, the Dubuque and Sioux City

¹Ibid.

²Houlette, op. cit., pp. 170 f.

³William J. Petersen, "Iowans Buried at Andersonville," Palimpsest, XLII (June, 1961), 246 ff.

⁴The History of Black Hawk County, op. cit., p. 397.

⁵"Waterloo School in Log Cabin in 1853," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 2.

⁶Ben Hur Wilson, "In Line with Progress," Palimpsest, VII (August, 1926), 256.

Railroad obtained the proposed Cedar Falls and Minnesota Railroad along with its treasury.¹ The Dubuque and Sioux City planned to build a road from Cedar Falls to Janesville; however, only two miles of track have ever been laid on this proposed spur.²

In 1864, a big frame dam was built across the Cedar River at Waterloo.³ During the same year, a major industry, the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad roundhouse and machine shop, was secured for the city.⁴ There were some cultural

¹Frank P. Donovan, Jr., "The Dubuque and Sioux City," Palimpsest, XLIII (June, 1963), 272 ff.

²Melendy, op. cit., p. 122.

³Weston, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴Ibid. As a result of the Panic of 1857, which delayed construction on proposed rail lines in Iowa and caused financial difficulties for the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad, the railroad was reorganized and came under the control of John E. Thompson of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Morris J. Jesup held many of the bonds of the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad and since he was receiving little return from his investment, forced the railroad into receivership and it was reorganized in 1860. As a result of the Civil War, further construction was delayed and it was 1865 before trains could go from Cedar Falls to Ackley. The Illinois Central became concerned over the Dubuque and Sioux City's slow expansion and were afraid some other large line might secure control. To prevent this, the Illinois Central, in 1867, secured a lease from the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad for 20 years, and, in 1887, the Illinois Central management purchased the majority shares of the Dubuque and Sioux City Line. For almost its entire existence in Waterloo, the machine shops and roundhouse were known as the Illinois Central machine shops and roundhouse (Donovan, Jr., op. cit., 272 ff).

additions: trees were planted in the first park,¹ the First Congregational Church installed the city's first pipe organ,² and in 1865 the Waterloo Library Association was formed.³ In 1865, Cedar Falls became a city of the second class⁴ and at Waterloo the First National Bank, the only early bank still in existence, was chartered.⁵

In the 20 years since Black Hawk County's first residents arrived, the county population had grown from 13 to 12,306.⁵ Where only Indians had lived, there were now several cities--the largest, Waterloo, with a population of 1,685.⁷ One railroad had reached Black Hawk County and the industries were beginning to move westward. In 1860, the value of products of industry in Black Hawk County was \$166,894.⁸ During the period of the Civil War and the five

¹Weston, op. cit., p. 8.

²Glasson, op. cit., p. 41.

³Historical and Biographical Record, op. cit., p. 592.

⁴Melendy, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵"National Bank in 1865," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 7.

⁶Census of Iowa 1836-1880, op. cit., pp. 196 f.

⁷Ibid., p. 434.

⁸United States Department of the Interior, Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of The Eighth Census, loc. cit.

years after, the value of that product grew to a total, in 1870, of \$1,034,777.¹

The 20 years of growth for the city of Waterloo from 1845 to 1865 introduced certain problems which were to develop into major conflicts in later years. From the beginning, Waterloo was not planned as one city but as two; and the area encompassed by Waterloo and Cedar Falls was actually divided into three centers of population, all of them fighting for their individual and distinct interests. The conflicts between Cedar Falls and Waterloo over the location of the courthouse and, to a smaller extent, over the navigation of the Cedar River;² and the competition between the two cities for the location of the roundhouse

¹Francis A. Walker, The Statistics of Wealth and Industry of The United States, Embracing The Tables of Wealth, Taxation, and Public Indebtedness; of Agriculture; Manufactures; Mining; and The Fisheries. Compiled From The Original Returns From The Ninth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 515.

²The Federal Government declared the Cedar River navigable as far as the city of Cedar Falls. In 1893, Peter Melendy wrote, "The Cedar River is declared navigable to Cedar Falls by the U. S. government, the river has been meandered and surveyed to the mouth of Dry Run. In 1858 a steamboat named Black Hawk made its appearance at Waterloo loaded with salt for Waterloo and Cedar Falls merchants. On account of the dam at Waterloo the boat could not reach the head of navigation at Cedar Falls. The citizens of Cedar Falls held a meeting and raised money in 1859 to buy a boat for our trade. \$1,500 was raised and a committee appointed to go to Pittsburg and buy a boat. Low water killed the project. We are still at the head of navigation waiting for an appropriation by congress to deepen the river bed." (Melendy, op. cit., p. 47).

and machine shops¹ all indicate a definite desire to be first. Not only was a county election necessary to relocate the county seat, but it was also necessary within the city of Waterloo to hold an election to determine which, East Waterloo or West Waterloo, was to have the honor of the courthouse building. This pattern of competition among the three population centers was to continue throughout the history of the cities. Although the population had grown within the area, the people seemed to feel themselves firstly, as citizens of a population center, and only secondly, as residents of Black Hawk County. Whenever a store, tavern, bank, or school was established on one side of the Cedar River, it was quickly matched by a similar establishment on the other side. Perhaps it was the lack of easy access to the area across the river which caused this problem to develop or perhaps it was merely the nature of the people who originally settled in this area. As Mrs. George Hanna recalled it later, when they came to the banks of the Cedar River, she says, "I exclaimed, 'Boys, this is

¹"The Illinois Central railroad was once the Dubuque & Sioux City railroad. To insure the building of this road commenced in 1854, the citizens of Cedar Falls subscribed in land, lots and cash \$100,000, with the understanding that Cedar Falls was to be the end of the division and also that the roundhouse and machine shops should be located here. We did not get them." Melendy goes on to discuss the failure of the project of the Cedar Falls and Minnesota Railroad and the loss of track area after \$60,000 had been paid to grade in the county south of Cedar Falls for the Iowa Central Railroad (Ibid., p. 122).

where we will build our town.'" Later she writes, "Mr. Hanna wanted to settle on the east side of the river, but I said, 'I want to cross over Jordan into Canaan.'" and they crossed over to the west side.¹

1865-1900 - A CITY GROWS

The period from 1846 to 1865 had been a period when early pioneers were basically interested in attracting others to the community. Most of those who came during the early period had been farmers or small business men whose interests were in supplying farmers with their needs. The period between 1865 and 1900 was a time of growth and development. The people who came during this period founded the industries and the businesses which would turn Waterloo from an agricultural community to an industrial one. The Census of 1866 gave Waterloo a population of 3,031; by 1900, this figure had grown to 12,580.²

"Cities grow because of a combination of some natural advantages, good surrounding country and the efforts of

¹Mary Melrose Hanna, series of letters to John Leavitt in 1895, "Mary Melrose Hanna's Story," Waterloo Courier, November 21, p. 38; November 28, p. 37; December 5, p. 38; December 12, p. 39; and December 19, 1965, p. 41, cited by Glasson, op. cit., pp. 9 f.

²1866 population figures from Roger Leavitt, "When Waterloo Was Young" (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., April 1, 1929), p. 15. (Mimeographed.)

For 1900 population figures, see Table 1, p. 10.

progressive citizens."¹ Waterloo was located in an area which was conducive to growth; it had sufficient water power to encourage the development of industry; and it was well situated for railroads.²

As early as 1854, progressive citizens of Black Hawk County had been working to attract railroads to the area. After voting, they donated a sum of \$300,000 to the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad to obtain railroad facilities for this area.³ According to John C. Hartman, railroad facilities ". . . came to Waterloo on account of its advantageous position geographically and the fact that the Cedar River supplied excellent power for manufacturing interests."⁴

After the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad became a part of the Illinois Central Lines, Black Hawk County products could be exported through Chicago to all parts of the nation. This merger of railroads gave Waterloo

¹"Martin Brothers Company. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 2.

²James T. Hair, ed., Iowa State Gazetteer Embracing Descriptive and Historical Sketches of Counties, Cities, Towns and Villages (Chicago: Bailey & Blair, 1865), pp. 102 f.

³John C. Hartman, History of Black Hawk County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), p. 362.

⁴Ibid.

"railway significance," attracting other lines such as the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern (which later became the Rock Island) and the Chicago Great Western. These additional railroads gave Waterloo links both to the north and south and to the east and west.¹ According to Paul R. Hanna:

The railroads made it easy for the people of Waterloo to get products that were made in other cities of the United States. And so people in Waterloo began to think that goods could be manufactured in Waterloo, too, and sent by railroad to other cities and towns.²

The fact that supplies of raw materials for manufacturing were readily obtainable and easily accessible also encouraged the development of manufacturing interests. Such ores as lead, zinc, and iron; supplies of alluminous clays, timber, straw and flax; vegetables and fruits; and cattle and swine were readily available.³

In some ways, the competition between east Waterloo and west Waterloo gave added impetus to the search for manufacturing industries. In 1888, the business men of the east side formed the Board of Trade and Commercial Club, with the primary purpose of searching for new industries

¹Ibid., p. 363.

²Paul R. Hanna, I. James Quillen, and Gladys L. Potter, Pioneering in Ten Communities (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1940), p. 282.

³Charles Ashton, James O. Crosby, and J. W. Jarnagin, A Handbook of Iowa (n.p.: n.n., 1893), pp. 90 f.

and businesses that could be attracted to east Waterloo.¹

This enterprise proved so successful that, in 1895, a group of business men on the west side:

. . . seeing the effective work which the Board of Trade was doing for the East Side in the way of adding to the manufacturing and other productive interests, decided to have a similar organization. They interested all the business men in the work of building up their side of the river. Their efforts have been crowned with remarkable success and many important factories have been established through the encouragement of the Board of Trade.²

The citizens of Waterloo were not adverse to spending money to attract developing industries and railroads to their city. In order to obtain the Illinois Central machine shops for Waterloo, they donated \$23,000 and 70 acres of land in the north section of the city.³ In order to obtain the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railroad, the citizens of Black Hawk County were asked to subscribe \$45,000. Of this amount, \$25,000 was subscribed by the citizens of Waterloo.⁴ In 1882, a 5 percent tax was voted for the Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska Railroad, by both

¹Hartman, op. cit., p. 257.

²Isaiah Van Metre, ed., History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904), pp. 203 f.

³"Two Coach Lines and a Steamboat Early Arteries," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 12.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 359.

Waterloo and East Waterloo townships; however, before the project was finished, the company was absorbed by the Chicago, St. Paul and Kansas City (now the Chicago Great Western). Another vote was then taken; Waterloo and East Waterloo townships ". . . voted a 4 1/2 percent tax on condition that the company should maintain a depot on each side of the Cedar River."¹

Telephone service came to Iowa in 1877; and the Waterloo Courier on February 9, 1881, stated, "'We learn that the Bell telephone company for the state of Iowa plans an exchange here if subscribers enough can be solicited,'. . . ." ² This must have been done, for a switch-board serving 30 subscribers, at a cost of \$5 per month, was installed in August of that year. ³

In the period immediately following 1865, power for manufacturing came largely from the river. A dam and mill race had been early additions to the city; and, by 1868, there were nine businesses along the mill race. ⁴ In 1881, the existing mill race was considered inadequate; and, in 1882, a company was formed with capital stock of \$30,000 to

¹Hartman, op. cit., p. 361.

²"Phone Service Began 69 Years Ago; 30 Used It," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 3.

³Ibid.

⁴Clarence W. Baldwin, Crossroads on the Cedar (Waterloo, Iowa: Pioneer Advertising Company, 1969), p. 61.

improve the city's water power.¹ "The stock was all taken in less than one day."² A dam was built and a mill race two miles long was dug.³

The extent of development in Waterloo in the period between 1865 and 1900 can be seen in the growth of some businesses and industries shown in the table on page 135.⁴ In 1860, there were 37 manufacturing establishments in Black Hawk County, of which 17 were mills.⁵ These 37 establishments employed 110 people.⁶ By 1900, the number of manufacturing companies in Black Hawk County had grown to 274, employing 1,587 people; of these, 147 were located in Waterloo with a total employment of 1,150.⁷ This

¹Hartman, op. cit., p. 231.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Material for 1865 taken from Hair, loc. cit.; material for 1900 taken from Waterloo City Directory, 1899-1900 (Keokuk, Iowa: W. H. McCoy, 1900), pp. 190 ff.

⁵United States Department of The Interior, Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled From The Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 147.

Black Hawk County appeared in the Federal Census for 1860, but Waterloo was not listed as an entry in the census figures until later.

⁶Ibid.

⁷United States Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Manufactures, Vol. VIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 237 ff.

Table 5

Growth of Business and Industry in Waterloo
1865-1900

Business and Industry	1865	1900
Grocery stores	16	24 retail 2 wholesale 1 wholesale fruit company
Shoe stores	4	9 ready made 5 bootmakers
Drug stores	3	11 retail 2 wholesale drug companies
Book and stationery	3	10 retail 2 book manufacturers 9 book and job printing manufacturers
Manufacturers	8	147
Banks	2	4
Savings and Loan Associations	0	3
Lawyers	15	27
Physicians	10	27 (two were women)
Ministers	8	16
Dentists	2	10

indicates that the larger industries were already locating in Waterloo, since only 437 people were listed as being employed in industry outside the city as compared with 1,150 employed here.¹ In 1865, there were eight manufacturing companies in the city, including a plow factory, a machine shop, a millwright, a furniture factory, and four mills.² By 1875, the number of industries had increased to 20, and there were 140 commercial businesses.³ By 1880, the number of industries had increased to 25, with a total sales amounting to \$924,905.⁴ These included a creamery with an output of 2,000 pounds of butter a day, a wagon maker, a manufacturer of feed boilers and mills, a carriage factory, a cooper shop, a soap manufacturer, a furniture factory, a manufacturer of building materials, a foundry, a manufacturer of buggies and wagons, and a steam cracker factory.⁵ By 1881, Waterloo had 28 factories

¹Subtract the number employed in Waterloo, 1,150, from the number employed in Black Hawk County, 1,587.

²Hair, op. cit., pp. 103 f.

³O. M. Nordly and others, Land Use Plan (Waterloo, Iowa: Metropolitan Planning Commission of Black Hawk County, 1967), p. 13.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 230.

⁵"Hydraulic Power Gave Impetus to Early Industries," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 17.

with an aggregate sales of \$1,000,000.¹ Economically, one of the greatest improvements of 1882 was the introduction of grinding with rollers.² This new process increased production up to 525 barrels a day; and, during this year, the mills manufactured and sold flour and feed to a value of nearly \$1,000,000.³

The period from 1885 to 1900 was one in which many new businesses were established. A number of these are still active in Waterloo. The largest number of businesses founded during this period were factories. The Headford Brothers and Hitchins Foundry was formed;⁴ the Waterloo Street Car and Omnibus Company was formed;⁵ the Herrick Refrigerator Company was organized;⁶ the first box factory was secured for Waterloo;⁷ the Rath Packing Company moved

¹"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 19.

²"Hydraulic Power Gave Impetus to Early Industries," loc. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴"Foundry To Close; Federal Rule Cited," Waterloo Courier, May 13, 1975, p. 1.

⁵"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁶"Herrick Refrigerator Company," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 7.

⁷Hartman, op. cit., p. 234.

from Dubuque to Waterloo;¹ the Waterloo Canning Company was built;² the Waterloo Gas Engine Company was organized;³ the Cascaden Manufacturing Company was founded;⁴ the Jerald Sulky Company was established;⁵ and the Cedar Valley Manufacturing Company was organized.⁶

A number of businesses were also founded during this period. Waterloo's city services were established with the organization of the Waterloo Gas and Electric Company in 1888,⁷ two years after the waterworks had begun.⁸ The Waterloo, Cedar Falls and Northern Railroad was organized, assuring Waterloo of a Public transportation system.⁹ The W. H. Hartman Company was formed in 1891 and has been

¹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 209.

²"Hydraulic Power Gave Impetus to Early Industries," loc. cit.

³Fred D. Adams, ed., Historical Review of the Waterloo Rotary Club (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1966), p. 45.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., p. 214.

⁵Adams, op. cit., p. 51.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 208.

⁷"Power Supply Has Kept Pace With City's Growth," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 29.

⁸Hartman, op. cit., p. 245.

⁹David Dentan, "Wm. H. Hartman--Founder," Palimpsest, XL (February, 1959), 52.

responsible for publishing the local newspaper since that time.¹ During this period the Illinois Central instituted two improvements in their operation; in 1891, the company opened freight and passenger stations here,² and, in 1899, they expanded their business office by moving the division headquarters from Dubuque to Waterloo.³ During this period the Waterloo, Cedar Falls and Northern Railroad expanded their passenger service to Cedar Falls;⁴ and, in 1898, the company built the Sans Souci Hotel to take care of the resort business in that area.⁵

A number of businesses had their inception during the same period. The Smith, Lichty and Hillman Wholesale Grocers was organized;⁶ the Cutler Hardware Company was incorporated;⁷ the Black's Department Store was established;⁸ the Waterloo Fruit and Commission Company was formed;⁹ the

¹"Courier came to Waterloo on Christmas Day," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 14.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 364.

³Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, December 31, 1974, p. 4.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 367.

⁵"Resort Hotel in Sans Souci Park," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. X, p. 8.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 218.

⁷Ibid., p. 220. ⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 42.

⁹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 219.

John G. Miller and Sons Industrial Construction Company was founded;¹ the Martin Brothers Wholesale Tobacco Company was established;² and the Gildner's Clothing Store was begun.³ Probably 1898 was the peak year for this period; 20 new factories and plants were established during that year.⁴

Expanding business and industry brought more people to the city because they could find employment here. Between 1866 and 1900, the population of Waterloo increased 9,549.⁵ This gain in population led to an increase in the number of houses required as well as to an increase in the extent of the city. In the ten-year period between 1864 and 1874, for example, 400 new buildings were constructed.⁶ Probably the peak year of this period for construction, however, was 1899, when, for a single year, new buildings and improvements to existing buildings totaled 363.⁷ By

¹Adams, op. cit., p. 16.

²"Martin Brothers Company. Advertisement," loc. cit.

³"Gildner's. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 3.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵See statistics, Chapter 3, p. 129.

⁶"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁷Ibid.

this time, the largest percentage of businesses and industries listed above had been constructed, and Waterloo was drawing people who were seeking employment. The major portion of the city's population in the earlier period had been made up of people whose primary interests were in the fields of agriculture and related industries. By 1899, the population of Waterloo had shifted; and the majority of the people now here were business men and skilled and unskilled factory workers. Those primarily concerned with agriculture resided in the surrounding areas and in the smaller towns in the county.

Although the white population was increasing rapidly during this period, there was little increase in the black population. There were eight blacks in Waterloo in 1870;¹ and by 1900, the number had increased to 20.² This pattern of black migration in the early period of industrial development was consistent with the nation-wide population movement.³ In 1898, for example, Iowa furnished four regiments of infantry, two batteries of artillery, a signal unit, and one company of Negro soldiers for the Spanish-American

¹See Table 1, p. 10.

²See Table 1, p. 10.

³See Chapter 2, pp. 48 ff.

War.¹ This ratio is about consistent with the ratio of blacks to whites in Iowa during this period.²

Not only were the people of this period anxious to attract new industry, but they were also concerned with providing themselves and the newcomers with acceptable living conditions. City services, such as sewers, gas and electric service, running water, fire protection, and city government grew rapidly. In 1868, Waterloo was incorporated as a city of the second class.³ Eleven years later, the city decided to purchase 50 street lights.⁴ The following year gas mains were put in place, and a plan was being proposed to correct the drainage problems in a part of the city.⁵ In 1879, Waterloo's first commercial electric current was generated on the west side of the river and streets on that side were lighted with electric lights.⁶ Both telephone service and a permanent telegraph office

¹Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Iowa, Iowa. A Guide to the Hawkeye State (New York: Viking Press, 1938), p. 58.

²See Table 3, p. 12.

³A. T. Andreas, Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa (Chicago: Andreas Atlas Company, 1875), p. 440.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., pp. 229 f.

⁵Ibid., p. 230.

⁶"Power Supply Has Kept Pace With City's Growth," loc. cit.

came to Waterloo in the same year, 1881.¹ Public transportation was inaugurated in the form of horse-drawn street-car service in 1885.² In 1886, nine miles of water mains were laid and water service begun.³ In 1887, a free mail carrier system was inaugurated in Waterloo.⁴ By 1888, Waterloo had both a gas and electric company⁵ and a company formed for the purpose of supplying the city with water.⁶ By 1889, sewer pipe was being laid on the east side,⁷ and the street-car company was changing from horse-drawn cars to electricity.⁸ In 1891, Waterloo began to pave East Fourth Street with brick;⁹ and, in 1894, the west side of

¹"Phone Service Began 69 Years Ago; 30 Used It," loc. cit.

²"A Town Becomes A City," Waterloo Courier, November 1, 1959, p. 6.

³"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 232.

⁵"Power Supply Has Kept Pace With City's Growth," loc. cit.

⁶Hartman, op. cit., p. 445.

⁷Ibid., p. 233.

⁸"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City,"

⁹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 191.

the river followed.¹ By 1896, the city had completed a three-story city hall building which housed city offices as well as the fire department, the police department, and the public library.²

The people of Waterloo were also interested in the educational, religious, recreational, and cultural development of the town during this period. On March 7, 1866, the East Waterloo Independent School District was organized; and the Independent District of Waterloo was formed to serve people on the west side of the river on March 18 of the same year.³ Although these two school districts were organized as separate entities, they employed the same superintendent of schools from 1866 to 1868.⁴ By that time, the system was large enough to employ two superintendents. According to John C. Hartman, the schools were not adverse to spending money, ". . . there were 1,300 books in the libraries and practically all purchased in the year."⁵ This

¹"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

²"Challenge Here to Move City Hall," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IX, p. 2.

³Earl C. Glasson and others, Waterloo's Centennial Prairidrama Souvenir Program, 1854-1954 (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1954), p. 19.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., pp. 202 f.

⁵Hartman, op. cit., p. 226.

number of library books had been purchased for 900 students on the rolls with an average attendance of 667.¹ The emphasis on education in Waterloo was so great in the early years, that by 1915, Hartman could write:

It is a boast of Waterloo people, substantiated by all the evidence of the public, parochial and private schools of the city, that the character and condition of the schools of the city and the county are second to none and will continue to be so in the future years. Wonderful growth has been made and in the next decade this progress will be unceasing. Not only is Waterloo represented well in the schools of her own county, but in the large universities of the state as well. It is impossible to compute the number of young men and women attending school in the state outside of Black Hawk County, but it is safe to estimate that there is a considerable number, probably a higher average than in any other community. The two public school systems in the city are recognized as standards in the state and in adjoining states.²

The first parochial school, Our Lady of Victory Academy, was established in 1872;³ and, in 1879, the first Evangelical Lutheran School was begun.⁴ In 1899, a second Catholic school, Saint Mary's High School, was established.⁵

Black Hawk County was also growing in the field of advanced education. The State Normal School was opened at Cedar Falls in 1876.⁶ Gates College was founded in

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 313.

³Ibid., p. 317.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶D. Sands Wright, "Moses Willard Bartlett," Palimpsest, XIII (January, 1932), 28.

Waterloo in 1884.¹

The founding of churches kept pace with the growth of population. Churches which were already established before 1865 built permanent buildings during this period. New churches, including several Baptist churches and a second Catholic church, several Lutheran churches, a Universalist Church, an Evangelical Church, and a Christian Church were founded during this period. As the city spread, new churches were located within easy travel distance of new residential areas. By 1900, about three-fourths of the churches now existing in Waterloo had been formed.²

In 1868 the Y.M.C.A. was incorporated.³ By 1896 this group had built its own building.⁴ In 1877 the first theatre was opened in Waterloo.⁵ The Opera House, as it was called, was used for programs by local talent and also for visiting performers. In 1891 a group incorporated to buy a 40-acre tract two miles up the Cedar River from the city

¹Glasson, loc. cit.

²Hartman, op. cit., pp. 335 ff.

³"Organized Y.M.C.A. in 1868; Reject Mid-River Building," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 6.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵"Opera House Filled Need in 1877," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 6.

limits. Here they hoped to develop a summer resort for people who wished to build cabins in the area. That year they donated the use of the land for a ten-day camp meeting.¹ This summer resort venture was so successful that in 1898 the Waterloo, Cedar Falls and Northern Railroad built the Sans Souci Hotel to serve visitors in this area.² The Independent District of Waterloo (west side) adopted high school basketball in 1898; the second team in the state.³

By 1895 there were dozens of formally organized groups for women or for men and women together.⁴ An Art Association had been formed here in 1878⁵ and was incorporated in 1879.⁶ The Waterloo Woman's Club was organized in 1872⁷ and, in 1896, joined the Iowa Federation of Women's Clubs.⁸ There were also a number of literary societies and special interests clubs in existence during

¹"City Provides Top Midwest Chautauqua," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 4.

²"Resort Hotel in Sans Souci Park," loc. cit.

³William J. Petersen, "Genesis of High School Basketball," Palimpsest, XXXV (March, 1954), 102.

⁴"Women's Clubs Contribute Color, Achievement to City," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VI, p. 4.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

this period. Organizations such as these were responsible for bringing noted speakers to the city and for making them available to the entire population. Such speakers as Susan B. Anthony in 1872¹ and Carrie Lane Chapman Catt in 1890² helped to keep the citizens of this community abreast of current problems.

The development of the Chautauqua was one of Waterloo's outstanding efforts to bring culture to this area. The Chautauqua grew out of Dr. O. J. Fullerton's visit to the Chautauqua in New York where he had become convinced of the worth of this type of program. "Progressive Waterloo convinced him of chances for success."³ The first Chautauqua was held in 1892⁴ and, by 1893, a permanent amphitheater was built.⁵ The Chautauqua provided a chance for area residents to hear such noted speakers as Rev. DeWitt Talmage, General John B. Gordon, Sam Jones, and William Jennings Bryan.⁶ Isaiah Van Metre sums up the

¹"Crusading Women Fight for Rights," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. V, p. 8.

²Ibid.

³"City Provides Top Midwest Chautauqua," loc. cit.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., p. 198.

⁵"City Provides Top Midwest Chautauqua," loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

influence of the Chautauqua by saying:

Some of the finest lecture talent in the country has every year contributed to the interest of the assembly. Noted travelers, educators and political orators, foreigners as well as American citizens, have appeared upon the Chautauqua rostrum annually while high class musical talent and other popular entertainers have added to the interest.¹

The Waterloo Library Association was formed in 1865, and some volumes were collected; but there was a lack of public interest, and the association disbanded.² In 1878, the Library Association was revived.³ The question of maintaining a free public library had been presented to the public twice and voted down. However, in March, 1896, the proposition was again placed before the public and carried by a majority of 265.⁴ Probably two factors are responsible for this change in opinion: first, women were voting in this election; and, second, the proposition provided for the establishment of a library on each side of the Cedar River.⁵ The free public library was opened on September 27, 1898.⁶ It contained 3,555 volumes, ". . . divided equally between the two divisions."⁷

¹Van Metre, op. cit., p. 198.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 256.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa Containing Maps of Cities, Towns, Villages and Townships of the County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Publishing Company, 1910), p. 124.

⁶Hartman, op. cit., p. 256.

⁷Ibid.

Between 1865 and 1900, Waterloo's population increased from 3,031, in 1866, to 12,580, in 1900.¹ According to Paul R. Hanna:

Waterloo grew because people could make a living there. People on Iowa farms and in the small towns needed farm implements, food, clothing, building materials, and many other things. And so there were customers for the things that were made in Waterloo. More goods were sold, and so more people were hired to make them. People moved to Waterloo to go into business or to work in stores or in the factories.²

This statement sums up the growth of any community. When Waterloo was far-sighted enough to obtain the Illinois Central Railroad and later two other railroads, it took the first step toward becoming an industrial center, since it was now linked to raw materials as well as sales outlets, not only in the surrounding area, but also, after the completion of the railroads, throughout the United States. The fact that Waterloo was well situated to provide power for early industries also contributed to its growth. The third, and probably the main contributing factor, was the character of its people. They were interested in selling their area to industries and to businesses, and they made an effort to make Waterloo a worth-while place to live and to work.

¹See Footnote 2, Chapter 3, p. 129.

²Hanna, Quillen, and Potter, op. cit., p. 286.

1900-1920 - A CITY EXPANDS

Waterloo's transition from a farming community to an industrial city gained momentum during the early part of the twentieth century. Between 1900 and 1920, the population of the city increased from 12,580 to 36,230.¹ The single decade of greatest growth in city population came between 1900 and 1910, when the population increased from 12,580 to 26,693; a gain of 112.2 percent.² New factories, whole-sale houses, and retail businesses were being incorporated yearly, offering employment to the newcomers moving into the city. This rapid expansion necessitated the extension of all types of city services, offering further employment opportunities and contributing to the city's economic growth.

The city boundaries were being extended to take in settled communities which surrounded the incorporated city limits of 1900. When Waterloo was originally platted, the total area of the city was .8 of one square mile.³ By the time the city was incorporated in 1868, this area had

¹See Table 1, p. 10.

²"Waterloo Population Gained 51,774 in Half Century," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 47.

³See Chapter 3, p. 86.

expanded only slightly;¹ however, in 1904, the city took in large areas of land bordering it on all sides. This extension of the corporate city boundaries brought the total land area within the incorporated city limits of Waterloo to 16 square miles.²

Some of this land had already been platted. By 1902, there had been a total of 139 additions made to the original plat filed in 1854.³ Eighteen of these additions had been platted after 1900.⁴ According to the mayor's report to the city officials made in March, 1903, fifteen of these new plats were outside the incorporated limits of the city of Waterloo and only three were inside.⁵ In his report of March, 1902, the mayor had recommended that the city extend its corporate limits to include the additions of Linden Place, Grand View, Sans Souci, and Home Park.⁶ In the 1904 annexation, the city took in not only these areas but also the Westfield Addition which was, even at that time,

¹See Chapter 3, p. 142.

²"Waterloo Area Doubled Since 1904," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 21.

³Annual Reports of the City Officials of Waterloo, Iowa for the Year Ending March 31, 1903 (Waterloo, Iowa: Matt Parrott & Sons, 1903), p. 7.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

becoming well known as a factory site, the purpose for which it had been platted.¹

The increase of population during the second decade of the twentieth century included not only white settlers but black as well. It was during this period that Waterloo's black population increased from 20 in 1900, to 24 in 1910, and to 837 in 1920.² In 1900, Waterloo had a black-population percentage of 0.0016; and this percentage actually decreased by 1910 to 0.0009.³ However, from 1910 to 1920 the black-population percentage rose to 0.0231.⁴ This black-population growth paralleled the national movement of blacks toward the Northern industrial cities.⁵ The large increase of black population in Waterloo, however, was due almost entirely to one situation.

In 1911, the national railroad strike began.⁶ Although the Illinois Central, or the Harriman Lines as it was then known, never really used the word "strike" in

¹"Waterloo Area Doubled Since 1904," loc. cit.

²See Table 1, p. 10.

³See Table 1, p. 10.

⁴See Table 1, p. 10.

⁵See Chapter 2, p. 50.

⁶"Railroads Face Gigantic Strike," Waterloo Evening Courier, August 8, 1911, p. 3.

relation to their labor trouble here, a walk-out did occur. Their labor problems were not settled by July 27, 1912, when the Waterloo Evening Courier carried an article entitled, "Placards State Strike Still On."¹

"The first large migration of blacks to Waterloo occurred in 1911 and 1912 when jobs opened up with the railroad when white workers struck the Harriman Lines."² Over a period of years following the strike, more blacks arrived in Waterloo and housing for these people became a problem. The extent to which housing concerned the public is reflected in a Waterloo Evening Courier article of 1913 which states, "'If fifty more residences had been built in the east section alone the supply would not have been equal to the demand,' according to a leading real estate agent."³ The article continues that the greatest need now "' . . . is for residences which will rent for from \$10 to \$14 a month and from \$25 to \$30 a month.'"⁴ Later in the article the same real estate man continued:

¹"Placards State Strike Still On," Waterloo Evening Courier, July 27, 1912, p. 7.

²Duane Swinton, "Early Black Settlers Were True Pioneers," Waterloo Courier, August 18, 1974, p. 13.

³"Pressing Need for More Homes," Waterloo Evening Courier, May 3, 1913, p. 10.

⁴Ibid.

No one who is not in touch with the newcomers, those who are looking for a house to buy or lease, can have any conception of the rapid growth of Waterloo in population. It is peculiar that the strike in the Illinois Central shops did not materially reduce the population. Many of the men owned homes here and these they have retained. In many instances the head of the family went away to work, but several of them have returned. In other instances the machinists who went out on strike secured employment in the factories.

Those who took the places of the strikers have recently brought their families here from outside points, and these strangers are added to the city's population.¹

The housing situation was so acute that many of the early black settlers who came to take jobs were forced to live in boxcars next to the Illinois Central tracks. Others settled in the area just north of the tracks, and the area became known as "Smokey Row."²

The fact that jobs could be found easily with the railroad during the strike was the major reason why blacks came to Waterloo, but there were several other contributing factors to their migration. Blacks in the South were relatively poor and job promotion was severely limited. Black children in the South frequently had no chance to attend school. These were sometimes the deciding factors behind their move.³ Most of the blacks who came to Waterloo came from the Southern states. Peter Middleton, former director

¹Ibid.

²Swinton, op. cit., p. 14.

³Ibid.

of the Waterloo Human Rights Commission, estimates that over half of the city's black population can trace their family roots to Durant, Mississippi.¹

However, all the blacks who arrived during this period did not come to work. Some were drifters who concerned themselves with bootlegging, gambling, or prostitution and the area of "Smokey Row" became known for its vice. A Waterloo judge once pointed out that ". . . 'Smokey Row' wouldn't have flourished to the extent it did if numerous whites hadn't patronized the area."²

An article in the Waterloo Evening Courier for April 2, 1913 illustrates the paper's handling of the black situation:

Two colored gentlemen and two white friends indulged in a little game of poker last night, but unfortunately for the members of the party, police officers heard a mysterious noise in a west side barn and made an investigation.³

It is interesting to note the heading of this article, "Colored Boys in Gambling Game," when the article specifically states that the game was integrated 100 percent.

The development of manufacturing interests was the primary concern of Waterloo residents in the first few years of the twentieth century. By 1900, the Illinois Central

¹Ibid., p. 13.

²Ibid., p. 14.

³"Colored Boys in Gambling Game," Waterloo Evening Courier, April 2, 1913, p. 7.

had become one of the ten largest railroads in the United States.¹ In 1900, the Illinois Central had announced plans to make the Waterloo central division point the most important place on the lines between Omaha and Chicago and to rebuild and enlarge the shops.² By 1905, these shops employed 700 men;³ by 1910, this figure had grown to 1,000;⁴ by 1915, the shops were employing 1,400 people;⁵ and by 1919, the Illinois Central line, including the shops and the railroad, had a total employment of 2,500 with an annual payroll of \$3,500,912.⁶ By 1919, the approximate value of railroad property in Waterloo, for all railroads, had reached \$10 million.⁷

¹Carlton J. Corliss, Main Line of Mid-America. The Story of the Illinois Central (New York: Creative Age Press, 1950), p. 312.

²"Two Coach Lines and a Steamboat Early Arteries," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 12.

³Northeastern Iowa Press Association, Newspaper Editors Complimentary Banquet Program, Waterloo, Iowa. The Factory City of the State, February 3, 1905, p. 4.

⁴Atlas of Black Hawk County Iowa Containing Maps of Cities, Towns, Villages and Townships of the County (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Publishing Company, 1910), p. 126.

⁵Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915, Waterloo Section (Des Moines, Iowa: R. L. Polk and Company, 1915), p. 985.

⁶Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919 (Rockford, Illinois: McCoy Directory Company, 1919), p.14.

⁷Ibid.

The railroads were not the only form of industry which prospered during this period; manufacturing also grew rapidly. In 1900, there were 147 manufacturing companies in Waterloo¹ producing products valued at \$3.5 million annually.² Over a period of the next fifteen years, companies closed and new industries were established; in 1915, the total number of manufacturing companies had increased by only seven, but the total annual value of their output had increased to \$20 million.³ Although the number of factories had increased only minimally, the factories themselves had grown and were offering employment to more people. The Illinois Central shops, for example, grew from 700 employees in 1905⁴ to 1,400 in 1915.⁵

Statistics given for representative industries in 1904 show that the Iowa Grinder and Steamer Works employed 52 people and the Waterloo Carriage Company had an average

¹United States Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Manufactures, Vol. VIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 237 ff.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

³Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1918, Waterloo Section (Des Moines, Iowa: R. L. Polk and Company, 1918), p. 959.

⁴Northeastern Iowa Press Association, loc. cit.

⁵Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915, Waterloo Section, loc. cit.

employment of 63.¹ The total number of factories in Waterloo in this year was 68 employing 1,976 men with a total incorporated valuation of \$2,614,000.² By 1912, there was a total of 141 factories in Waterloo employing between 4,000 and 5,000 workers.³ The Galloway Company, for example, employed 800 workers and the Waterloo Gasoline Engine Works employed 2,629.⁴

The total number of factories in the city in any given year showed a great deal of fluctuation from the preceding and succeeding years, but as the two decades progressed the trend was from small operations giving employment to only a few people to larger operations giving employment to many. In 1902, the mayor's report listed a paper mill, a barrel and tub factory, an egg case factory, a book bindery, immense flouring mills, cooperage and broom factories, well drill works, a carriage factory, an omnibus factory, two harness factories, a mattress factory, and two

¹"Called 'Factory City' in 1904," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 7.

²Isaiah Van Metre, ed., History of Black Hawk County, Iowa, and Representative Citizens (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1904), p. 206.

³John C. Hartman, History of Black Hawk County Iowa and Its People, Vol. I (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1915), p. 240.

⁴Ibid.

skirt and garment factories.¹ These were flourishing businesses at the time, but all of them have now passed into oblivion. Probably the most notable of the industries which failed was the Maytag-Mason Motor Company which was organized in 1909 for the purpose of manufacturing automobiles.² After the business failed in 1910, Fred Maytag moved to Newton and started the present Maytag Company.³

Many of Waterloo's present flourishing factories were begun in this time. Some have recently closed and some are still operating and growing. The Waterloo Gasoline Engine Works which was destined to become a part of the large John Deere organization, the Iowa Dairy Separator Company, the Herrick Refrigerator Company, the Headford Brothers and Hitchins Foundry, and the Powers Manufacturing Company grew with the city and continued to provide employment for more and more people. Other industries which had small beginnings at this time have also continued to function and to offer employment to the citizens of Waterloo. The term "Factory City," which was

¹Annual Reports of the City Officials of Waterloo, Iowa for the Year Ending March 31, 1903, op. cit., p. 2.

²George Mills, Rogues and Heroes From Iowa's Amazing Past (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1972), p. 18.

³Ibid.

applied during this time, still aptly describes Waterloo.¹

The rapid expansion of the population and the increasing area encompassed by the corporate city brought about heavy demands for more and better services. A great deal of money was expended annually to provide city services to an enlarged area. In 1900, Waterloo had five miles of paved streets, 14 miles of water mains,² one fire station,³ 800 telephones,⁴ 76 miles of streets, 31 miles of cement walks, two public libraries with 4,203 volumes,⁵ and 12 miles of street railway.⁶ A second fire station on the west side of the river was built in that year.⁷ By 1919, there were 206 miles of streets, 60 miles of which were paved, 161 miles of sidewalks, 84 miles of sewer, 64 miles

¹"Called 'Factory City' in 1904," loc. cit.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

³"City Spent \$43,000 in 1900; Spends \$4,000,000 in '50," Waterloo Courier, December 29, 1950, p. 22.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, April 8, 1975, p. 4.

⁶Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

⁷"City Spent \$43,000 in 1900; Spends \$4,000,000 in '50," loc. cit.

of water mains, and 661 fire hydrants had been installed.¹ Typical of the amounts expended for city improvements are noted by Hartman when he states that, in 1901, city improvements amounted to \$1,610,943.² By 1908, this expenditure had grown to \$2,075,140.46.³ By 1919, improvements, both public and private, amounted to \$3,829,993, of which the Iowa Telephone Company alone spent \$101,200 to install new telephones.⁴

Bridges over the Cedar River in downtown Waterloo and the moving of the old iron bridge spans to Sans Souci and Black Hawk Creek accounted for large expenditures. In 1903, the Dry Run Sewer project was completed at a cost of \$100,000, and a banquet was held in the sewer to celebrate the ". . . final victory over the Dry Run, a low watershed originating in the marshes beyond Byron Avenue that responded with destructive flooding at nearly every rain-storm."⁵

¹Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 13.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 237.

³Ibid., p. 239.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 19.

⁵"Banquet in Sewer Puts City on Map," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 2. The sewer which they built runs underground for a long distance and,

Money was also being spent to keep the city up to date. In 1914, the city began replacing the older street lighting with boulevard lights; 22 were installed that year,¹ and by 1915, Waterloo could boast 141 street arc lamps, 94 incandescent lamps, 536 Welsbach gas lamps, and 215 five-light boulevard light posts.²

By 1911, Waterloo owned its own waterworks, and enough well water was available so that river water was no longer used.³ Two gas and electric companies served the city, and since they painted their electrical poles different colors, downtown Waterloo achieved a colorful appearance.⁴

In 1904, Waterloo inaugurated its first regularly paid fire department, and, in 1911, was the first city in Iowa to purchase motorized fire apparatus, which was put

although it is 12 feet square, was not planned to serve the needs of modern Waterloo since Dry Run still floods that area of the city with every heavy rain.

¹Hartman, op. cit., p. 241.

²Ibid., p. 242.

³"Waterworks A Wonder in 1886," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IX, p. 10.

⁴"Planners in 1910 Wanted Civic Unity," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 14.

into service the following year.¹ In 1915, the city bought a resuscitator;² and, by this year, the fire department owned three motor trucks and two hook and ladder trucks.³ By 1915, the police department had a chief and twenty-three people, including one matron; a motorcycle corps had recently been added and ". . . equipped with the fastest machines obtainable, to discover the auto drivers who exceed the speed limits of the city."⁴

In 1904, the unofficial population of the city had reached 16,000. Under state law, this gave the city first-class distinction; and, since ". . . Waterloo already considered itself 'first-class' in most respects, it desperately wanted the official title."⁵ This year also marked the fiftieth year since Waterloo was platted.⁶ 1904 was also a banner year because that was the year in which the

¹"Fire Department Fully Paid Since 1904," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IX, p. 6.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 259.

³Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915, Waterloo Section, op. cit., p. 986.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 257.

⁵"City Paused in 1904 to Celebrate," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. II, p. 2.

⁶See Chapter 3, p. 86.

"Battle of the Libraries" was settled.¹ In 1902, Andrew Carnegie offered to give the city \$30,000 for a library building; however, the city could not decide which side of the river would get the building. After much discussion and some correspondence with Carnegie, it was decided that Waterloo would furnish land for two libraries, one on each side of the river. Carnegie then agreed to give \$40,000 for their construction.² In 1906, the two library buildings were completed and dedicated.³ By 1919, the library had grown to over 30,000 volumes and was serving nearly 8,000 people. Besides the two buildings, there were five well-developed library stations located in the outlying districts.⁴

By the beginning of the twentieth century it was necessary for Black Hawk County to have some kind of improved courthouse facilities. When a new courthouse was

¹"Library Site Battle Ends in Draw," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IV, p. 7.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 238. Viewed from a strictly economic point, the "Battle of the Libraries" was economically practical in that, in the final analysis, Waterloo received \$10,000 of Andrew Carnegie's money which it would not originally have received; this amounts to actually one-third more than his first offer of \$30,000.

³Ibid., p. 256.

⁴Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 13.

proposed, a ". . . struggle for a new building was only slightly less furious than the 1855 battle for the location."¹ In 1900, the east side of Waterloo found itself aligned against both the west side and Cedar Falls. The first vote, taken in 1898, rejected a new building completely.² In the election of 1900, the vote for a new courthouse was passed with the county supervisors proposing \$80,000 for the courthouse, \$10,000 for a jail and sheriff's residence, and \$25,000 for property on East Park Avenue.³ Although Cedar Falls tried to move the courthouse to that city by offering free land and a \$50,000 grant, the east side had the courthouse and did not intend to lose it.⁴

West Waterloo wanted a public building and a compromise was finally offered giving west Waterloo a federal building which was being proposed. Since the entire city supported the east side courthouse, the courthouse was retained by Waterloo.⁵ In 1904, the Fifty-sixth Congress appropriated \$150,000 for a government building at Waterloo.⁶ Van Metre states:

¹"Second Vote Allows New Courthouse," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IV, p. 4.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Van Metre, op. cit., p. 194.

The appropriation was an unusually large one for a city of 16,000 people and was secured mainly through the exertions of Hon. David B. Henderson, then Speaker of the House and the Representative of this the Third Congressional District of Iowa.¹

When the federal building was completed in 1905, Waterloo could boast of both a new county courthouse and a new federal building.

The expansion of the population required the two school districts of Waterloo to engage in an intensive program of school construction. By the end of 1905, Waterloo had two high schools, fourteen school buildings, two sectarian schools, and one business college.² The next fifteen years saw a notable increase in the amount of money expended for school construction. In 1906, the first Catholic high school, Saint Mary's, was built.³ In 1909, the first Catholic school on the west side, Sacred Heart School, was established.⁴

By 1910, the enrollment in the Waterloo Public Schools, combined east and west sides, had reached 5,505.⁵ From this point, school building progressed rapidly. One

¹Ibid.

²Northeastern Iowa Press Association, loc. cit.

³Hartman, op. cit., p. 238.

⁴Ibid., p. 349.

⁵Ibid., p. 239.

school was completed in 1911;¹ two schoolhouses, Washington Irving, on the west side, and Lafayette, on the east side, were completed in 1912.² By 1913, the total combined public school enrollment had risen to 6,614; and two more schools, Lincoln, on the east side, and Edison, on the west side, were completed.³ School growth in the East Waterloo Public Schools seems to indicate that, as a residential area, the east side was growing more rapidly than the west side. In a breakdown for that year, East Waterloo's total enrollment was 3,039, a gain of 603 over the previous year; while the Waterloo Public Schools (west side) showed a total enrollment of 2,308, a gain of 220 over the previous year.⁴

Parochial schools were growing as rapidly as the public schools. By 1913, there were three Catholic schools and one Lutheran school in operation, with a total enrollment of 814, a gain of 117 over the previous year.⁵

By 1914, the East Waterloo Public Schools had a total of ten school buildings, representing a cash value of \$380,000, while the Waterloo Public Schools had seven

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 240. Hartman terms Washington Irving school one of the most notable improvements of the year, costing \$45,000.

³Ibid., p. 241.

⁴Ibid., p. 313.

⁵Ibid., p. 316.

school buildings, valued at \$250,000.¹ Grant school was built on the east side, and an addition was built to Whittier on the west side in 1915.² In the same year, the Immanuel Lutheran school was erected providing classrooms for eight elementary grades.³ Emerson was erected on the west side in 1916, and the Catholics built Sacred Heart school in the same year.⁴ In 1917, construction was begun on a new East High School with an initial expenditure of \$175,000.⁵ The building was completed and occupied in 1919.⁶ Kingsley was built on the west side at a cost of \$80,000 that year.⁷ A movement was already underway to secure a high school for the west side, and construction was begun in 1920.⁸

¹Ibid., pp. 314 f.

²"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

³"Chronology Shows Early Waterloo Church Growth," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 7.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid. School building was progressing so rapidly during this period that one school building which was occupied for only two years was lost from the records. A few years ago, while doing a study on the history of the schools, an old resident mentioned to a member of the committee a two-room school which had been used on the

The total value of the combined public school property in Waterloo in 1919 was \$1,750,000.¹ Since the combined value of school property in 1914 was given at \$630,000, school property had increased over \$1,000,000 in a five-year period. All of the schools except two, Lafayette and Emerson, which were built during this period, are still in use in Waterloo.

By 1919, Waterloo also had two business colleges with a total yearly enrollment of over 750.² This enrollment represented 36 different counties of Iowa, eight other states, and Canada.³ During the period, Waterloo had also had several other privately operated educational institutions. In 1913, a trade school was started as an extension of Ames College; it had only night classes.⁴ In 1915, the Illinois Central opened an apprentice school to teach mechanical work to boys from ten to twenty years of age;⁵ and in the same year, the Y.M.C.A. began a night school to instruct Greek immigrants in the elements of the English

east side of the river. After a great deal of searching, the committee was able to locate a building now being used as a church which had been a part of the Waterloo Public Schools for two years and then had been abandoned.

¹Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919,
op. cit., p. 13.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 314.

⁵Ibid.

language.¹

In 1900, Waterloo had no hospital facilities of any type. A private hospital was opened in 1901 in the C. A. Smith residence.² By 1903, it was felt that the city should have some kind of permanent hospital; and a fund was started for this purpose. A year later, the Presbyterian Hospital was built.³ In 1907, a fund was started to open a second hospital in Waterloo on the east side. By 1910, the Seraphic Heights Hospital, later called Saint Francis Hospital, was completed at a total cost of \$150,000, with some of the money being donated by the Sisters of Saint Francis.⁴

Not only was Waterloo growing as a factory city and improving its public facilities, but it was growing as a business city as well. Before 1900, the majority of the buildings were built of wood and Waterloo experienced large fire losses in the early years of this century. During the early 1900's, private investors began erecting permanent business buildings in downtown Waterloo; and a number of

¹Ibid.

²"City Gets Hospital in 1901," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IX, p. 5.

³Iowa League of Women Voters, Waterloo, Iowa--A Good Place to Live (Waterloo, Iowa: Morris Printing Company, 1968), p. 3.

⁴Hartman, op. cit., p. 262.

thriving wholesale businesses and retail businesses were organized. Existing businesses, such as the James Black Dry Goods Company, were expanding their operations and moving to larger quarters.

One of the first wholesale businesses to be established was the Black Hawk Coffee and Spice Company, wholesale grocers, which was organized in 1900.¹ In 1901, a wholesale fruit house was opened,² and J. E. Sedgwick invested \$14,000 in a business block in downtown Waterloo.³ In 1904, Wilson Brothers, wholesalers of men's furnishings, was organized.⁴ By 1905, business had increased to the extent that the Waterloo Office Supply Company was founded to sell supplies to business men in the area.⁵ Waterloo got its first high rise in 1902 when the Lafayette block, a five-story building for offices, was constructed.⁶

1910 was the peak year for building when 55 factories

¹Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, May 13, 1975, p. 4.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 237.

³Ibid.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., p. 223.

⁵"Waterloo Office Supply. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 11.

⁶"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

and business blocks were built.¹ The First National Bank building, costing \$250,000, was the prominent addition to downtown Waterloo that year.² In 1911, 30 business blocks were added.³ Another wholesale paper company, later called the Waterloo Paper Company, was also started that year.⁴ 1912 saw the erection of 43 more new business blocks, the most notable among these being the Citizens Gas and Electric Company office building, which cost \$85,000.⁵ Thirty-six more business blocks were added in 1913, and this growth continued unabated throughout the remainder of the period.⁶

Private expenditure for improvements for some years between 1900 and 1919 picture the extent of growth which was taking place. In 1902, 386 buildings were erected; in 1905, 458 new residences alone were built. 1910 saw the addition of 660 new homes; the following year, 322 residences were added to the city, with 611 more making their appearance in 1912.⁷ 1913 was called ". . . a feature year."⁸

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Hartman, op. cit., p. 240.

⁴"Waterloo Paper Company. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IV, p. 14.

⁵Hartman, op. cit., p. 240.

⁶Ibid., p. 241.

⁷"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁸Ibid.

Both the James Black building and the Hotel Russell-Lamson were built that year.¹ Both of these buildings are eight stories high and one is on each side of the river. Thirty-four other business blocks were added to the city and 374 new homes were constructed.² The total value of the improvements for 1913 was \$4,088,724.³ Nine plats of new additions containing 2,339 lots were filed that year making way for large future improvements.⁴

Private expenses for improvements in 1914 totaled \$1,391,075.⁵ The trend continued through the remainder of the decade. In 1916, 219 new homes were built at a total cost of \$1,179,000.⁶ Because of the war, building and improvements were slowed in 1918; but 1919 saw a return of construction to normal when 168 new homes were built and the total improvements, public and private, reached \$3,829,993.⁷

The amount of business and residential expansion going on during these years made Waterloo a good place for banks and savings and loan establishments. In 1900, the total banking capital represented by the six banks in

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

Waterloo was \$400,000, and they had on deposit \$1,000,000.¹ In that year, the Security Savings Bank was organized with a capital of \$50,000,² the Waterloo Savings Bank in 1902,³ the Black Hawk National Bank in 1903;⁴ and the Iowa State Bank in 1904.⁵

Building and loan associations had begun their development early, with three being established before 1900. A fourth was added in 1905 when the Home Building and Loan Association was begun.⁶ Another bank was also opened in 1905 when the Waterloo Loan and Trust Company was organized.⁷ The Iowa Securities Company was formed in 1906.⁸

By 1911, Waterloo's financial growth was well established. In that year, bank clearings reached

¹Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 248.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶"Building and Loan Associations Help to Develop City," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 4.

⁷Hartman, op. cit., p. 248.

⁸"Iowa Securities Company. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VIII, p. 13.

\$59,984,285.¹ The next year, this amount increased to \$70 million.² In 1913, it had increased another \$11 million to a total of \$81 million for that year.³ By 1915, there were eleven banks and trust companies in Waterloo with a combined capital of \$2,735,000.⁴ Their deposits totaled \$10 million.⁵ The building and loan associations had assets of \$2,128,235 and a paid in capital of \$2,000,000.⁶ By 1918, the combined capital and surplus of all banks and trust companies had reached \$2,891,361, and deposits were \$15,434,030.⁷ The bank clearings for 1917 had reached \$120,970,991.61.⁸ The building and loan associations' assets had grown to \$3,658,605.65, with a paid in capital of \$3,657,431.⁹ In 1918, the citizens of Waterloo purchased nearly \$4 million worth of Liberty bonds and war savings stamps.¹⁰

¹"Fundamental Facts for Fanciful Folks," Waterloo Evening Courier, December 27, 1911, p. 6.

²Hartman, op. cit., p. 240.

³Ibid., p. 241.

⁴Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915, Waterloo Section, op. cit., p. 985.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1918, Waterloo Section, loc. cit.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

By the end of this period, bank capital had grown from \$400,000 in 1900¹ to \$2,440,000 in 1919;² while deposits had grown from \$1,000,000 in 1900³ to \$14,870,790 in 1919.⁴ The total bank clearings for the year 1918 were \$99,496,370.65.⁵ The combined loans for the four building and loan associations in 1919 was, in round numbers, \$4 million.⁶

Bank clearings help to give a picture of the business of the city. Other information, such as railroad records and post office receipts, reflect the situation as well. In 1912, over 100,000 freight cars were coming into and going out of Waterloo, and the total railroad receipts for shipping from the city alone were \$2,500,000 that

¹Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

²Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 12.

³Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, February 25, 1975, p. 4.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth from Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 12.

⁶*Ibid.* Perhaps one reason why so many financial institutions in Waterloo were destined to run into trouble in the Depression of the 1930's was that no Waterloo financial institution had failed before that time. Waterloo had enjoyed tremendous prosperity.

year.¹ The post office receipts for 1912 were \$216,490.40.² By 1919, the total freight tonnage billed out of Waterloo on the railroad had reached 220,114 tons and the total tonnage into the city had reached 582,625 tons.³

The expansion of Waterloo business during this period was great. Manufacturing was steadily increasing and business and jobbing interests were healthy. The phenomenal business growth of the city reflects the national movement spurred by the Industrial Revolution, but a second factor contributed to the rise of Waterloo as an industrial city. The completion of the east side and the west side made both groups eager to lure new factories and businesses to their city, and the existence of two Chambers of Commerce actually succeeded in giving double impetus to this growth and development. The character of the people who make up the business community of this city is reflected in the fact that by 1919 the combined membership of the Chamber of Commerce (west side) and the Waterloo Commercial Club (east side) was nearly 1,000.⁴ With this many backers and workers,

¹Hartman, op. cit., p. 240.

²Ibid.

³Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919,
op. cit., p. 14.

⁴Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919,
op. cit., p. 16.

a city can hardly fail.

Another large portion of the yearly expenditure for buildings and improvements during this period went to erect new church buildings. As the population expanded, new churches were built and religious groups, not previously organized in the city, began to make their appearance. As the population expanded outward from the original plats of the city, people wanted churches closer to their homes. St. Joseph's Catholic Church was built in 1900,¹ and the United Evangelical Church was completed in the same year.² The United Presbyterian Church was built in 1903.³ A Jewish church was organized in 1905.⁴ Both the Westminster Presbyterian Church and the Congregational Church were built in 1907.⁵ The Calvary Baptist Church and the Sacred Heart Catholic Church were built in 1909.⁶ The United Brethren Church was organized in 1911,⁷ and the St. Mark's Episcopal Church was begun in 1912.⁸ The first Negro

¹Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 1, 1975, p. 4.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, August 19, 1975, p. 4.

³Hartman, op. cit., p. 345.

⁴Ibid., p. 348.

⁵Ibid., p. 238.

⁶Ibid., p. 348.

⁷Ibid., p. 349.

⁸Ibid., p. 240.

church in Waterloo, the Payne Memorial African Methodist Episcopal Church, was also established in 1912.¹ By 1914, there were approximately 40 churches in Waterloo.² The 1919 City Directory lists 37 churches with a total membership of 13,500 people owning real estate valued at \$1,324,000.³

Although Waterloo was proud of its self-awarded title, "The Factory City of Iowa," its people were also concerned with the recreational, social, and aesthetic facets of the city. In 1900, golf came to Waterloo in the form of a nine hole course laid out in the summer resort of Sans Souci.⁴ A minor league baseball team was organized in 1901.⁵ The summer resort of Sans Souci, begun during the nineteenth century, continued to grow; by 1900, there were nearly 300 people living in the resorts of Cedar River Park

¹Swinton, op. cit., p. 14.

²Illustrated Review Showing Development of the State of Iowa (Chicago: Earl J. Robinson and Company, 1914), p. 47.

³Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴"Waterloo Golf Started at Sans Souci in 1900, Moved to Byrnes in 1908; Sunnyside First 18 Hole Course in 1919," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VIII, p. 5.

⁵"Waterloo in Organized Baseball for 40 Years," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VII, p. 2.

and Sans Souci.¹ The area had grown in importance by this time to the extent that the mayor recommended, in his report to the city council in 1902, that this area be annexed to the city.² The area was already being served by a paddle-wheel steamer which operated a regular route from downtown Waterloo to the Chautauqua, serving as dependable transportation for the resort area.³ The Chautauqua, built in 1892,⁴ continued to draw important speakers, such as Evangeline Booth, to this area.⁵

Waterloo was also assuming some political importance as a whistle-stop campaign center. In 1900, Theodore Roosevelt appeared here to address an audience of 40,000 people.⁶ He again appeared in Waterloo in 1903 as President of the United States.⁷ President William Howard Taft

¹Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 1, 1975, p. 4.

²Annual Reports of the City Officials of Waterloo, Iowa for the Year Ending March 31, 1903, op. cit., p. 7.

³"1900--To Chautauqua by Steamer," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. I, p. 12.

⁴Van Metre, op. cit., p. 198.

⁵Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 8, 1975, p. 4.

⁶"All Iowa Came When Teddy Roosevelt Stomped Here in 1900," Waterloo Courier, October 5, 1965, p. 4.

⁷"1903--Teddy Roosevelt Draws Crowd," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. I, p. 15.

visited Waterloo in 1911.¹

The churches were also active in bringing important people to speak in the city. Jane Addams spoke here in 1900.² In 1910, Billy Sunday held a revival here in which he claimed 3,357 converts and received \$8,400 in donations.³

The city was also an area center for traveling entertainment. Buffalo Bill brought his Wild West Show here in 1900.⁴ In the summer of 1900, the Ringling Brothers circus drew a crowd estimated from 14,000 to 20,000 when it appeared.⁵ For many years following this, Waterloo continued to be Ringling Brothers only northeast Iowa stop.

The citizens of Waterloo were also interested in the appearance of their city. The first board of park commissioners was appointed in 1904.⁶ In 1908, the first

¹Jacob A. Swisher, "Taft in Iowa," Palimpsest, XXIX (October, 1948), 307.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, April 15, 1975, p. 4.

³"Town Becomes City by Vote in 1868," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 2.

⁴Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 29, 1975, p. 4.

⁵Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 75 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 8, 1975, p. 4.

⁶"Waterloo First Became a City in 1868 Election," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 27.

riverfront commission was appointed.¹ When the city was platted, a square block on each side of the river had been set aside for the location of a public building; however, neither was ever used for this purpose. Both later became parks: Lincoln Park, on the east side, and Washington Park on the west side. In 1906, the development of the city park system continued when the first 80 acres of what is now Byrnes Park was purchased by the city.² Seventy additional acres were purchased and added to this park in 1917.³ By 1918, Waterloo had a total of seven public parks encompassing a total area of 405 acres.⁴ The country club, Sunnyside, was formed in 1919 with individual membership costing \$100.⁵ The group laid out an 18 hole golf course in 1920.⁶

¹"Town Becomes City by Vote in 1868," loc. cit.

²"Waterloo Golf Started at Sans Souci in 1900, Moved to Byrnes in 1908; Sunnyside First 18 Hole Course in 1919," loc. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1918, Waterloo Section, loc. cit.

⁵"Waterloo Golf Started at Sans Souci in 1900, Moved to Byrnes in 1908; Sunnyside First 18 Hole Course in 1919," loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

In 1910, Waterloo secured the National Dairy Cattle Congress;¹ and, in 1912, it moved to its present location.² "Des Moines had asked to be made the permanent home of the Cattle Congress, but Waterloo's merchants and citizens had dug up such enticing premiums and other inducements that Waterloo was made the center of the Country's Dairy display."³ In 1919, the National Belgian Horse Show was brought to Waterloo and during that year the grounds, buildings, and equipment of the Cattle Congress were nearly doubled.⁴ One of the improvements made that year was the beginning of a coliseum planned to seat 20,000 people.⁵

Crowds which were drawn to Waterloo by such events as Theodore Roosevelt's visit, the Ringling Brothers circus, and the National Dairy Cattle Congress contributed to the economic growth of the city so that, by 1919, the city could boast 14 hotels, with 690 rooms.⁶ Two of these, the Russell-Lamson Hotel and the Ellis Hotel, were large modern

¹Allan Carpenter, Between Two Rivers (Mason City, Iowa: Klipto Loose Leaf Company, 1940), p. 103.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1919, op. cit., p. 16.

⁶Ibid.

buildings housing up-to-date facilities, which were built at great expense during this period.

Waterloo's sense of civic responsibility extended beyond the borders of her own town. When, in 1914, the General Assembly refused to appropriate funds for an Iowa building at the Panama Exposition in San Francisco, the citizens of Waterloo subscribed \$50,000 for that purpose.¹

Besides hosting the Wild West Show, the circus, and the National Dairy Cattle Congress, Waterloo also offered other forms of entertainment. By 1915, the city could boast two theatres for live entertainment and six motion picture shows.² Waterloo was also connected with the outside world through seven wireless stations, all of which could send messages anywhere in Iowa and receive from anywhere in the world.³

By 1910, Waterloo had organized a "Civic Society," dedicated to improving the appearance of the city. This group hired a nationally known town planner named Charles Mulford Robinson to make a professional survey of the city's needs. He made several observations about situations

¹Iowa State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1915, Waterloo Section, op. cit., p. 986.

²Ibid.

³Hartman, op. cit., p. 259.

developing in downtown Waterloo which should be corrected; these same situations, never corrected, were later to become serious municipal problems. He said, for example, that the city needed a building code; and that a:

. . . serious municipal problem is presented by the railroads. Physically, Waterloo is strapped and bound by these in exceptionally trying fashion, and there is possibly nothing which is more difficult to move than a railroad.

The greatest offenses are, doubtless, the Illinois Central's river front loop on the East side; the Great Western's use of Bluff Street, on the West side, as a portion of its main line, and the number and inadequacy of passenger stations.¹

He also cited a need for the removal of the jog in West Fourth Street and severely criticized the complete lack of union between the east side and the west.² Waterloo did not, however, choose to follow the recommendations which Mr. Robinson made. Some of the problems he listed still exist today. Waterloo is still bound by railroad tracks in the downtown area which cause a great deal of traffic congestion and may close traffic arteries in the city for as long as ten minutes at a time. The jog in West Fourth Street has only recently been removed, since any attempt to correct this jog necessitated the removal of a full

¹"Planners in 1910 Wanted Civic Unity," loc. cit. Rumor in Waterloo has stated that the reason that John Dillinger never paid a visit to a local bank was that there was no way out of the city which might not be blocked by a railroad train.

²Ibid.

block of business buildings and the relocation of Fourth Street bridge.

When Waterloo entered the twentieth century it was largely as a farmers' market serving the surrounding agricultural community with its flour mills and agricultural implement manufacturing industries. By the end of the first two decades of the century, the character of the city had changed. The railroads facilitated shipping anywhere in the United States, and agricultural implement companies had grown to a point where they were supplying farmers in many areas. The competition between the east and west sides had contributed to the relocation of progressive factories offering employment to greater and greater numbers of people. This economic development brought in workers from many different regions, not only to staff the factories but also to begin construction businesses, retail businesses, wholesale businesses, and all the multitude of services required by a rapidly expanding community. The division in the community helped to spur civic pride as each side tried to offer outsiders a better place to live.

The growing population during these two decades resulted in a more polyglot community. In 1900, Waterloo had been a largely Anglo-Saxon Protestant community. By 1920, the city had a Negro population, a large enough Jewish population to require the building of a synagogue, a Greek population large enough to support a Greek Orthodox Church

and classes to teach Greeks the English language, and an increase in the Catholic community large enough to require the building of two more Catholic churches. The interest in culture and the outside world which was evidenced by the building of the Chautauqua in the late 1800's continued as the citizens of Waterloo struggled to make their community an up-to-date city by the addition of electric street lights, paved roads, radio contact, two libraries, motion picture theatres, and a baseball team.

1920-1945 - PROSPERITY, DEPRESSION,
AND PROSPERITY AGAIN

Between 1900 and 1920 Waterloo had changed from a farming community to an industrial city. In the 25 years between 1920 and 1945, industrial development continued at a rapid pace and Waterloo also developed as a jobbing and retail center. With the increasing popularity of motorized transportation, people living in Black Hawk and the surrounding counties had easy access to a city which already possessed retail establishments to serve them. As the highways improved, manufacturers and wholesalers were able to ship goods to heretofore inaccessible communities, not only in the neighboring areas but throughout Iowa and the surrounding states.

Little land was added to the city during this period, but the population continued to grow and building continued at a rapid pace. In 1920, Waterloo covered 13.5 square

miles;¹ and, during the next 20 years, until 1940, the only area added to the city was a section 160 x 280 feet, comprising the land on which the Electric Park was located.² This annexation was done at the request of the owners of the property in order to secure city services.³ There were two reasons for this lack of expansion. First, the legal battles which had accompanied the 1904 annexation made the city administration wary of trying to incorporate land which the court could easily call "agricultural."⁴ The second contributing factor was the incorporation of neighboring settled communities into towns. To the west, National City and Castle Hill had boundaries contiguous with those of Waterloo;⁵ and to the east, Evansdale had incorporated in 1846, although its western boundary did not quite join Waterloo's eastern boundary.⁶

¹Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920
(Rockford, Illinois: McCoy Directory Company, 1920), p. 9.

²"Battle in Courts as City Grows," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 11.

³Ibid.

⁴Jack Bender, "Waterloo Outlines Case on Annexation," Waterloo Courier, April 17, 1966, p. 21.

⁵"Battle in Courts as City Grows," loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

With the transition from streetcars and interurbans, which ran on fixed tracks and limited routes, to motorized transportation, which was free to move anywhere along paved roads, workers in Waterloo ceased to be limited in their choice of housing. During the era of the interurban and the streetcar, it was necessary for a working man either to choose housing within easy reach by walking or bicycling to his place of employment or to find housing which gave him access to the streetcar line or an interurban line. Both Castle Hill and National City were located on the streetcar line between Waterloo and Cedar Falls.

By 1940, people from neighboring communities found it easy to commute by automobile the seven miles from Cedar Falls, the four miles from Castle Hill, or even 10 or 15 miles from towns like La Porte City or Hudson to their daily jobs in Waterloo's businesses and industries. To a certain extent, this growing mobility of the population toward the end of this period tended to slow the growth of some types of businesses, particularly financial institutions and certain types of retail establishments, such as grocery stores. On the other hand, growing population mobility was an asset to department stores and retailing establishments which, in a city the size of Waterloo, could offer a far wider selection of merchandise.

Population gain during this period was relatively

rapid as the city grew from 36,230 in 1920¹ to 51,743 in 1940.² The greatest percentage gain in population for this period was in black residents. This coincided with the national migration trends among blacks from rural Southern areas to Northern industrial cities.³ In 1920, there were 837 blacks in Waterloo,⁴ and by 1940, this number had reached 1,498,⁵ almost double the 1920 population.⁶ In Waterloo, unskilled Southern blacks could easily find employment in the foundry at the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company and in the hog-kill department at the Rath Packing Company, as well as jobs as porters and unskilled laborers for the Illinois Central Railroad.

As the black population grew, Waterloo began to attract professional men. In 1920, Waterloo's first black attorney arrived,⁷ and in 1922, he was joined by Waterloo's

¹See Table 1, p. 10.

²See Table 1, p. 10.

³See Chapter 2, p. 47.

⁴See Table 1, p. 10.

⁵See Table 1, p. 10.

⁶See Table 1, p. 10.

⁷Duane Swinton, "Early Black Settlers Were True Pioneers," Waterloo Courier, August 18, 1974, p. 13.

first black doctor, Herbert H. London.¹ Both of these men moved on to other cities; but Waterloo's second black doctor Lee B. Furgerson, who established his practice in 1927, practiced medicine here until his death in 1948.² His wife, the former Lily Williams, later became the first black teacher in Waterloo and his children have been active in the black community. His daughter, Betty, is now the Director of the Waterloo Human Rights Commission.³ Doctor Furgerson did not serve primarily the black community but also had many white patients.

The period between 1900 and 1920 had seen a great deal of expansion in public facilities and much building by the school districts. After 1920, such expansion tended to decrease because most areas within the city limits had gas, electric, and sewer systems; public utilities now expanded their building and plant facilities to extend their services. In 1920, the combined East Waterloo Public Schools and Waterloo Public Schools had 20 buildings and employed 245 teachers.⁴ During the period of the next 25 years, from 1920 to 1945, little school construction took place.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920,
loc. cit.

Although the Depression and World War II had an adverse effect on property development, home building and improvement of residences were relatively consistent during this period. In describing the city in 1920, the Waterloo Directory authors wrote:

Large numbers of the working men have bought their own homes and the residence districts show prosperity and happiness. Nowhere, perhaps, are homes in more pleasant surroundings. The streets are for the most part well paved and there are lanes of trees which make the summer evenings delightful. Many take advantage of the fertility of the soil by raising vegetables in their yards, which has a great effect on the cost of living.¹

In that year, there were 103 new homes erected with a valuation total of \$561,200.² The following year, \$505,305 was expended for home construction and home improvement.³ One hundred and twenty-seven new homes were built in 1923 at a total cost of \$705,200,⁴ and this increased to 172 homes in 1924.⁵ The increase continued during the pre-Depression years, and in 1928, 264 homes with a total valuation of \$1,087,308 were built,⁶ giving Waterloo a total of around

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 19.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

9,000 single-family dwellings.¹ The trend toward owner-occupied residences had continued; and in 1928, it was estimated that 75 percent of the single-family dwellings were owner occupied.²

The national Depression, which began in 1929, had little effect on Waterloo building that year; 373 new homes were constructed, but the total valuation had dropped considerably to \$892,050.³ The following year, however, new home construction dropped to 140 homes at a cost of \$714,325.⁴ Construction of homes was very slow during the Depression years; however, by 1939, it had again reached the pre-Depression level when 393 new homes were constructed at a total cost of \$1,700,000, the record year for the history of Waterloo.⁵ Construction again dropped during the years from 1940 to 1945 as the international situation made materials difficult to obtain. With gasoline rationed, and building materials impossible to obtain, housing for

¹F. Gwynne Weston, The Story of Waterloo. The Factory City of Iowa (Waterloo, Iowa: Stewart-Simmons Company, 1928), p. 67.

²Ibid.

³"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. II, p. 2.

Waterloo industrial workers who were coming to the city to find jobs in the production of manufactured goods became critical. In 1944, one man had 23 war workers living in his home.¹

Waterloo's early prosperity as an industrial city had been due in part to the three railroads which served the area; as methods of transportation began to change to motorized freight service and later to air transportation, the area kept abreast of progress. By 1920, brick paving connected Waterloo and Cedar Falls,² and in 1921, the Waterloo, Cedar Falls and Northern Railroad began its transition from streetcars to motorized bus service when they inaugurated the first passenger motor bus service between Waterloo and Cedar Falls, traveling over this brick paving.³ It was along this route that the communities of Castle Hill and Cedar Heights developed. The railroads were also expanding their freight service to the outlying areas of the city, and in 1921, the Sans Souci bridge for the Waterloo, Cedar Falls and Northern Railroad was completed, giving the railroads a track circling the industrial section of Westfield and connecting it with the east

¹Ibid.

²"Waterloo At a Glance," Waterloo Courier, December 4, 1920, p. 4.

³"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

side of the river.¹

By 1928, there were ten through highways and Waterloo had ten motor freight carriers and was serviced by six motor bus lines which connected the city to the surrounding territory.² In that year, the people of Black Hawk County licensed well over 16,000 automobiles.³ To serve travelers who might pass through the city, Waterloo incorporated an improved Tourist Park with modern conveniences.⁴ This emphasis on motor transportation increased throughout the period, and by 1939, there were 28 motor freight lines operating out of the city, eleven of which were engaged in interstate business.⁵ By 1940, the city had converted completely from streetcars to buses for intra-city transportation.⁶ Automobiles were a popular means of transportation in Black Hawk County with a total of 23,041 registrations recorded that year.⁷

¹"Ferrying Cedar With Two Yokes Oxen Cost 50¢," Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 10.

²Weston, op. cit., p. 83.

³Ibid., p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 29.

⁵Waterloo (Black Hawk County, Iowa) City Directory, 1939 Including Black Hawk County (Omaha, Nebraska: R. L. Polk and Company, 1939), p. 12.

⁶"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁷"Graphs Show City's 25-Year Growth," Waterloo Courier, January 17, 1965, p. 13.

An interest in air travel also came early to the city. The first regular transcontinental air mail service across Iowa had been inaugurated in 1924.¹ Three years later, an Airport Association was formed to build an airport for Waterloo,² and in the same year, the Midwest Airways Corporation was founded.³ The Waterloo airport was built east of Waterloo,⁴ and a two-plane airline, the first in Iowa to offer exclusive passenger service, was established to connect Waterloo and Des Moines.⁵ This service was only in existence for a few months before it failed for lack of use. Although little was done in the field of air transportation between 1928 and the end of the Depression, Waterloo did continue to maintain an up-to-date airport. In 1940, the government authorized a pilot training course at this local airport.⁶

¹Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Iowa, Iowa. A Guide to the Hawkeye State (New York: Viking Press, 1938), p. 556.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³"City Up Early With Air Thrills, Travel," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. X, p. 13.

⁴"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁵Ibid.

⁶"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

The biggest expansion in Waterloo came during World War II when, in 1943, a federal grant of \$700,000 was received toward the construction of a municipal airport.¹ In 1944, the city petitioned for a permanent airline service to Waterloo,² and annexed 3,864 acres of land in the area of the proposed airport.³ The following year, the City Council purchased 1,700 acres of land and formed an Airport Commission to administer the proposed airport.⁴

Although other means of transportation were growing, the railroads continued to be Waterloo's major method of shipping. In 1920, 220,114 tons of freight were billed out of the city while the freight billed into the city amounted to 582,625 tons.⁵ The approximate value of the railroad property in the city that year was \$10 million.⁶

By 1928, the Rath Packing Company owned several hundred of its own refrigerator cars to facilitate shipping their products,⁷ and during that year the total freight in

¹"City Up Early With Air Thrills, Travel," loc. cit.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³Bender, loc. cit.

⁴Fred D. Adams, ed., Historical Review of the Waterloo Rotary Club (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1966), p. 52.

⁵Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920, op. cit., p. 10.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Weston, op. cit., p. 57.

and out of the city amounted to 48,740 carloads.¹

The railroads continued to improve and by 1940, the Rock Island "Rockets" and the Illinois Central "Land O' Corn" were making regular passenger runs.² The first step toward alleviating the stricture of the railroads on the city, which was criticized by the city planner in 1910,³ was the construction of an underpass on Idaho Street in that year.⁴

Growth in transportation over this period was directly connected to industrial and business growth in the city. Of the 240 industries in Black Hawk County in 1920,⁵ 116 were located in Waterloo.⁶ The average number of wage earners connected with manufacturing in Black Hawk County was 5,023,⁷ of which 4,620 were employed in Waterloo.⁸ Waterloo manufactured a large variety of products, some of

¹Ibid., p. 83.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³See Chapter 3, p. 186.

⁴"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁵United States Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920. Manufactures, Vol. IX (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1923), p. 419.

⁶Ibid., p. 446.

⁷Ibid., p. 419.

⁸Ibid., p. 446.

the better known of which were tractors, gasoline engines, cream separators, excavators, farm wagons, and other farm equipment.¹

By 1925, Waterloo industry had grown to the extent that the invested capital in manufacturing was in excess of \$21 million.² Manufacturers employed an estimated 6,000 people and had an annual payroll of \$21,509,114.³ There were 3,000 articles manufactured in Waterloo.⁴ Waterloo that year produced one-fifth of all stationary gasoline engines and trucks in the country, it was third ranking producer of cream separators, the largest producer of concrete mixers, and the leading manufacturer of automatic whistle blowers for the nation's railroads.⁵ The major employers during that year were the Waterloo Gas Engine Company, which tripled its production by adding machinery to manufacture the new John Deere tractor. This company accounted for over 1,000 local workers,⁶ and was now

¹Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920, op. cit., p. 10.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, September 17, 1975, p. 4.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, September 3, 1975, p. 4.

building on the average of 20 tractors a day.¹ The Rath Packing Company that year reached a capital investment of \$2,186,000.² That company, too, accounted for more than 1,000 employees.³ With this industrial expansion, the Central Iowa Power and Light Company began construction of high-tension lines to service the east side industries,⁴ and also announced an expansion program which would permit increased use of manufactured gas by industry in the community.⁵

By 1928, the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company doubled its capacity by erecting eleven new buildings,⁶ and the total value of Waterloo's manufactured products reached \$80 million that year.⁷ Industry had a total

¹"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

²Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, April 15, 1975, p. 4.

³Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, April 15, 1975, p. 4.

⁴Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, October 8, 1975, p. 4.

⁵Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, October 22, 1975, p. 4.

⁶"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁷Ibid.

capital of approximately \$29 million,¹ and the annual payroll of people employed in manufacturing had reached \$11 million.² John Deere sales alone that year totaled \$25 million and that company had a payroll of \$5,500,000.³ The Rath Packing Company was also doing a good business. In 1928, they consumed one million head of hogs.⁴

In 1929, the total output for the city's factories was \$90 million.⁵ One of the major industrial expansions in Waterloo that year came when the Powers Manufacturing Company installed a knitting department. They had perfected the idea of a pre-shrinking process and became the first company in the United States to manufacture the pre-shrunk shirt.⁶

In 1930, the effects of the Depression began to be felt and the value of manufactured products dropped to \$70 million.⁷ However, in 1931, Waterloo industry increased

¹Weston, op. cit., p. 83.

²"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

³Ibid.

⁴Weston, op. cit., p. 57.

⁵"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

⁶Adams, op. cit., p. 48.

⁷"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

production to \$85,490,809.¹ They employed 6,684 people and paid wages of \$9,130,123.² The Rath Packing Company's production for that year showed a total of 1,029,332 animals killed for a total sales value of \$32,205,000.³

Although business was still relatively active, unemployment was beginning to become a factor of concern. During the year, the Unemployment Relief chapter with 2,000 members provided means of mutual help in finding work; and the Salvation Army served 10,566 meals.⁴

By 1933, there were only 79 manufacturing establishments in Waterloo, employing 4,415 people, paying wages of \$5,214,061, and having products valued at \$46,874,065.⁵

There was little change in 1934. A total of 1,000 men on federal work relief projects in Waterloo went on strike demanding a 24-hour work week. They felt that there was discrimination in the number of hours of employment being given to various men, and even though they were making

¹Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1931
(Rockford, Illinois: McCoy Directory Company, 1931), p. 6.

²Ibid.

³"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City,"
loc. cit.

⁴"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁵Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1933
(Peoria, Illinois: McCoy Directory Company, 1933), p. 6.

only 55 cents an hour, they felt that every hour they worked counted.¹

1937 saw some economic improvement. The Rath Packing Company was able to add a \$500,000 addition.² During this year, they furnished employment for 3,400 people and spent \$30,394,000 with Iowa farmers for livestock.³

By 1938, the number of manufacturing institutions in Waterloo had grown to 107.⁴ Employment at the Rath Packing Company and the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company was improving and the two companies were now employing approximately 5,000 workers.⁵ By that year, the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company was the largest tractor plant in the state manufacturing 13 different types of tractors as well as stationary and portable engines ranging in size from two to 42 horsepower.⁶

¹Waterloo Courier, June 13, 1934, p. 2.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³Waterloo, Iowa Con Survey Directory, 1938
(Springfield, Illinois: Baldwin Con Survey Company, 1938),
p. 14.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress
Administration for the State of Iowa, op. cit., p. 318.

⁶Ibid.

By 1939, industry was returning to pre-Depression status with approximately 180 manufacturing plants selling approximately 3,500 different articles, with a total product value of \$30,850,000, and employing 8,077 people.¹

In 1942, industry in Waterloo saw a number of changes. The John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company switched from the production of tractors to the production of tank transmissions.² The Rath Packing Company provided meat for the United States and also for lend-lease purposes.³ The Galloway Company was making bomb fuse parts, anti-aircraft gun tripods, and gears.⁴ The Chamberlain Corporation was manufacturing artillery shells.⁵ Materials such as iron and steel were hard to obtain and the Galloway Company pioneered in the use of plastic in cream separators in place of metal which was in short supply.⁶

Industry prospered during the war years. However,

¹William K. Metcalfe, Socio-Economic Study. Black Hawk County (n.p.: n.n., 1967), p. 19.

²"The Courier Marks a Century," Waterloo Courier, November 1, 1959, p. 7.

³Ibid.

⁴Papers on Waterloo Industrialist William Galloway (Information in Museum of History and Science, Waterloo, Iowa), July 19, 1969, p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

⁵"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁶Ibid.

by 1944, war contracts in the area were beginning to decrease and the Galloway Company shifted back to the production of farm implements.¹ Other companies followed until Chamberlain Corporation remained the only federal government contracted manufacturer in the area.

Waterloo was also developing during this period as a wholesale center. As early as 1920, the city was accepted as one of the five leading wholesaling and jobbing centers of the state, and had an aggregate sales amount of \$30 million annually.² It was estimated that about 400 salesmen located in Waterloo and throughout the territory were employed in this type of business.³ By 1928, there were 21 wholesale and jobbing houses doing an annual business of \$50 million.⁴ The largest percentage of jobbers covered only the Midwest, but some distributed merchandise throughout the entire United States.⁵ Like industry, these businesses were adversely affected by the Depression of the 1930's, and by the lack of available merchandise during the years of World War II.

¹Papers on Waterloo Industrialist William Galloway, loc. cit.

²Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920,
op. cit., p. 11.

³Ibid.

⁴Weston, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵Ibid.

Waterloo's financial institutions in 1920 reflected the healthy national economy. The banks had total deposits of \$13,817,000, and the weekly bank clearings averaged \$2,000,000.¹ Loans made by the building and loan associations totaled over \$5 million. During the first six months of 1920 alone they loaned \$1,500,000 for home building and home buying.² These institutions continued to grow during the 1920's. Waterloo had never experienced a bank failure until the years of the Depression in the 1930's.

By June 9, 1928, bank deposits had risen to \$14,334,042, and the building and loan associations claimed assets of over \$10,000,000.³ The city also had three thrift banks, two loan companies, eleven investment companies, and two trust companies.⁴

By 1931, one bank had failed and the three remaining had deposits of \$11,000,000 and resources of \$12,500,000.⁵

¹"Waterloo At a Glance," loc. cit.

²Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1921
(Rockford, Illinois: McCoy Directory Company, 1921), p. 10.

³Weston, op. cit., p. 53.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1931,
loc. cit.

By 1932, only one of these banks was left.¹ It is probably safe to say that there was no one in Waterloo who did not suffer some financial loss through the failure of the financial institutions located here. In 1933, a second bank, The National Bank, was opened and for that year the total deposits in the two banks amounted to \$3,432,103.² These two banks continued in business, and as the economic conditions stabilized, the banks became stronger and a third bank was founded in 1943.³

The period between 1920 and 1945 saw efforts being made to unify the city. The first of these was the combining of the Chamber of Commerce and Waterloo Club on the west side and the Commercial Club on the east side. In 1920, these two groups combined to form the Greater Waterloo Association and this helped to heal the breach between the two cities.⁴ In 1928, the name of the Greater Waterloo Association was changed to the Chamber of Commerce.⁵

¹"Waterloo Savings Bank. Advertisement," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 9.

²Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1933, loc. cit.

³"Metro Investors Acquire Control of Peoples Bank," Waterloo Courier, January 31, 1975, p. 5.

⁴Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920, op. cit., p. 12.

⁵"Young City Promotes Street Fairs," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XII, p. 2.

Writing in 1966, Fred Adams commented on this unification, stating, "There no longer exists the bitter feeling of antagonism between east and west Waterloo which was so plainly evident forty years ago."¹

The second effort came when, in 1942, with the death of Waterloo Superintendent of Schools Charles Kittrell, it was decided to unite the two school districts into one. Jack M. Logan, then Superintendent of the East Waterloo Public Schools, became Superintendent of the combined district in the fall of 1942.² Since rivalry between the two school systems had always been strong and sometimes violent, this merger of the systems for a long time existed in name only. It was not until the completion of a third public high school in 1972 that the insular attitudes of the people on the east side and on the west side began to change.

Efforts to unite the city were being made by public officials, and in speaking of these efforts at the dedication of the Park Avenue bridge in 1939, Mayor Ralph Slippery said:

For years the east and west sides of Waterloo have been separated by our river, the Cedar, but with every new bridge we have built, our city and its people have been drawn closer and closer

¹Adams, op. cit., p. 11.

²"Waterloo School in Log Cabin in 1853," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 2.

Opening of this bridge at Park Avenue brings our east and west together anew, to march forward to greater successes.¹

The river had been both a help and a hindrance to the city of Waterloo. It had brought early settlers here and served as a means of transportation for products leaving the city; but it had also contributed strongly to the growth of two separate and distinct communities. Although efforts were being made to combine these two cities into one unified whole, eliminating from the minds of the population a feeling of civic pride for their own side of the river proved far more difficult.

In this period, the river was to prove an even greater detriment to city expansion. During the early period of settlement, there had been several disastrous floods which washed away timber bridges and covered the low-lying areas of the city. As the city expanded, homes had been built in many low-lying areas, and in the downtown section, low land along the channel of the river had been filled in and raised to the level of the rest of the city. In 1929 and again in 1933 these two factors contributed to disastrous flooding. In 1929, flood losses for the

¹"Timber Span Ready for Travel in 1859," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. IV, p. 2.

entire Cedar River Basin passed the \$100,000 mark.¹ In 1933, a second severe flood again caused flood losses in the Cedar River Basin of over \$100,000.² This led to the building of dikes along the river to protect many areas which had formerly been inundated.

The Waterloo School System had expanded greatly during the period between 1900 and 1920, and although the enrollment increased over the next 25 years, the fact that the schools had planned for expanding enrollment resulted in the need for building only three new school buildings. The total enrollment for the 1919-1920 school year for both districts totaled 7,021.³ This enrollment figure rose to 8,492 for the 1944-1945 school year.⁴

Capable planning enabled the schools to offer many opportunities for students outside the academic field. Both high schools were equipped to offer training in band and orchestra. There was special equipment for instruction in

¹William J. Petersen, The Story of Iowa, Vol. II, The Progress of an American State (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1952), p. 57.

²Ibid.

³Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920, op. cit., p. 9.

⁴Statement by Lawrence Garlock, student placement and accounting director in school administration office, personal interview, Waterloo, Iowa, December 1, 1975.

woodworking, mechanical drawing, cooking, and bookkeeping. The buildings were equipped with science laboratories, art rooms, sewing rooms, typewriting rooms, swimming pools, gymnasiums, libraries, and each had its own athletic field.¹ By 1945, these offerings had been increased to include chorus rooms, a print shop, and metalworking equipment.

The city also had four parochial schools, three Catholic and one Lutheran.² The Catholic schools offered training through the twelfth grade. The city also had two business colleges,³ and a school of nursing was begun in Waterloo in connection with Allen Memorial Hospital.⁴

Churches had kept pace with the city development and as the black population increased, a Catholic church was added for this group. St. Peter Claver's was founded in 1940.⁵

Waterloo was making its bid to become a convention center to attract outsiders to the city during this period. The city had railroad, bus, and highway connections to the

¹Weston, op. cit., p. 71.

²Ibid., p. 73.

³Waterloo and Black Hawk County Directory, 1920,
op. cit., p. 9.

⁴"Allen Memorial Hospital and Lutheran School of Nursing," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. XI, p. 11.

⁵Swinton, op. cit., p. 14.

rest of Iowa and to major points in the United States. In January of 1928, Waterloo opened its twelfth hotel, The President, and was able to give hotel accommodations to over 2,000 people nightly.¹ In 1935, the first move was made toward building a civic auditorium in the city to attract conventions. This auditorium was to have been incorporated with a new city hall which was needed. The location proposed for this building was Lincoln Park, the east side square which had been set aside in the original plat for a public building. The voters that year turned down the proposal for the \$278,000 building.²

One of the principal attractions for Waterloo was the National Dairy Cattle Congress, which by 1928 had grown to 16 major buildings with a total floor area of 250,000 square feet located on a 35-acre tract of land.³ The Cattle Congress had a hippodrome with a seating capacity of 5,000, seven cattle barns which could accommodate 1,000 head, three horse barns housing 250 head, and a poultry building with a capacity of 3,000 birds.⁴ There were also three industrial exhibition halls and a Women's and Children's building

¹Weston, op. cit., p. 43.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³Weston, op. cit., p. 25.

⁴Ibid.

available for exhibitors.¹ Among the exhibitions annually displayed were farm machinery, household furnishings, landscape gardens, flower arrangements, and school exhibits, as well as the usual county-fair-type displays of fruits, vegetables, canned goods, baked goods, handmade items, and art exhibits. One of the most popular of the displays was the butter sculpture which was a life-sized replica of some phase of Iowa history or Iowa farm life. One exhibition hall contained a refrigerated display case for the specific purpose of housing this display. The Cattle Congress drew people from Iowa and the surrounding states, as well as some exhibitors from other parts of the nation. The National Dairy Cattle Congress became the highest ranking dairy show in America when the National Dairy Show at St. Louis was closed in 1932.²

Waterloo continued its social and civic growth during this period. In the early 1920's, a \$300,000 Masonic Temple was built and the parks and playgrounds were maintained.³ By 1928, there were seven motion picture houses and one legitimate theatre.⁴ The hippodrome was available

¹Ibid.

²"Decade Pictures Show Growth From Village to City," loc. cit.

³"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁴Weston, op. cit., p. 61.

for large groups during the year. Indoor skating was offered and the city had a hockey team, and a professional baseball team played at the baseball park.¹ The city also had a Y.M.C.A. and a Y.W.C.A., two golf courses, and a public bathing beach, and boating and fishing facilities in the river.² There was a 36-passenger excursion boat operated by the Riverfront Commission.³ Fifteen or 20 civic organizations and fraternal clubs were available for people who were interested.⁴

As early as 1925, two movie houses had installed Arctic Nu-Air cooling systems for the comfort of their patrons.⁵ Famous entertainers came to the city. In 1924, John Philip Sousa appeared with his band at the hippodrome.⁶ In 1925, Edgar Guest came to the city to give readings.⁷

Radio also came to the city early. In 1921,

¹Ibid

²Ibid

³"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

⁴Weston, op. cit., p. 79.

⁵Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, July 8, 1975, p. 4.

⁶Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, October 22, 1974, p. 4.

⁷Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, December 3, 1974, p. 4.

Davenport had the first commercial radio station in Iowa.¹ By 1922, Waterloo had three stations, WMAR and WRAN, which have now passed into oblivion, and WMT which still exists.² There were an estimated 200 receiving sets in Waterloo and music was being broadcast from a local theater and church services were on the air from a local church that year.³ In 1925, when Calvin Coolidge was inaugurated, the people of Waterloo heard the inaugural address by radio. Both high schools held assemblies and for those who did not have a radio, one man rigged up a homemade set on a truck parked in front of Stanard's West grocery store.⁴

Waterloo's women continued to be active in business and politics. In 1923, a Waterloo woman became the first woman to hold an elective office in the State of Iowa when Miss Mary E. Francis was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. She served in that office until 1927.⁵ Another Black Hawk County native, Miss Jessie Parker, was elected to the office in 1939 and served in that capacity for many years.⁶

¹"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Kenneth Murphy, "What They Were Talking About 50 Years Ago," Waterloo Courier, March 4, 1975, p. 4.

⁵"Political Offices Draw Waterloo Women," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VI, p. 15.

⁶Ibid.

In 1931, Marion Henderson Eddy, a Waterloo native and graduate of East High School, was the first woman to undertake a solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean.¹

Black Hawk County made an outstanding contribution to the Civil War and its contribution to World War II was also significant. Not only were the industries in the city converted to wartime production, but over 6,000 of the city's young men were in service and ten were killed in action.² Prominent among these were the five Sullivan brothers who enlisted in the Navy three weeks after the Pearl Harbor attack and were killed on November 13, 1942 while serving aboard the U. S. Cruiser Juneau in the South Pacific.³ Their deaths resulted in a new all-service regulation prohibiting members of the same family from serving on the same ship or in the same area of land operation.

During this period the city expanded along the lines of development which had been begun in the earlier periods. By 1945, industry had largely recuperated from the effects of the Depression. The city had expanded its area toward

¹"Marion Henderson Eddy Was Pioneer for Waterloo and Nation in Aviation," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. VI, p. 6.

²"'Diary' Tale Shows Waterloo Way Won," loc. cit.

³"The Courier Marks a Century," loc. cit.

the north and west; work was beginning on a large municipal airport; the Chamber of Commerce and the school system were united; and the city was beginning to develop into one entity instead of two halves which although they made a whole in boundaries and city administration, still retained divided loyalties. Most of the land area within the city's 13.5 square miles was built up, and after this period expansion must necessarily come within the newly annexed land area to the north and west or through the annexation and development of land area outside the city. The black community had grown in one area of the city only and the stage had been set for the labor problems and racial troubles which would develop during the postwar period.

1946-1975 - EXPANDING TECHNOLOGY AND CHANGING SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY BRINGS PROBLEMS

The industrialization of Waterloo, which began in the first two decades of this century and increased rapidly between 1920 and 1945, continued during the period following World War II. Rapid industrialization and changes in the modes of transportation brought about the expansion of city boundaries. As the period progressed, Waterloo declined as a retail center for this area. Increased mobilization of the population brought competition in the retail field from cities like Cedar Rapids and Des Moines. Internal factors within the retail community also hastened the decline of the downtown area. Changes in population and changes in

social philosophy led to unrest, labor trouble, and minority violence. On a whole, the thirty years following World War II brought about a number of major changes in the city.

In 1944, the city of Waterloo annexed a large tract of land for construction of the proposed airport. This annexation brought the city's total area to 19 square miles.¹ From 1945 to 1975, many tracts of land were added to the city so that its boundaries encompassed a total area of 59.13 square miles.² The first annexation, in 1947, added two land areas: 140 acres in City View Heights on the north east, and the section west of Ansborough Avenue which had previously been called National City.³ In 1949, the annexation of 7,400 acres extended the city boundaries in all four directions bringing the total land area to 32.6 square miles.⁴ Annexation of surrounding land continued at a rapid rate; and the boundaries were further extended in 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1966, and 1968.⁵ By

¹"Battle in Courts as City Grows," Waterloo Courier, June 20, 1954, Sec. III, p. 11.

²Information from Waterloo Chamber of Commerce, telephone call, Waterloo, Iowa, July 8, 1974.

³"Battle in Courts as City Grows," loc. cit.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Metropolitan Planning Commission of Black Hawk County, Comp., Annexations (Waterloo, Iowa: n.n., 1969), p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

1975, there were contiguous boundaries on the west with Cedar Falls, on the south west with Hudson, and on the east with Evansdale.

The rapid rise of the automobile following World War II led to population increases in many of the small surrounding towns. Industry within the city was growing, but the increase in housing did not keep pace with industrial development. In the decade between 1910 and 1920, a period of rapid industrial expansion within the city, the population of Black Hawk County increased by 11,705,¹ of which 9,537 were in the city of Waterloo.² During the decade between 1950 and 1960, Waterloo showed a population increase of 6,557 as compared with the Black Hawk County increase of 22,034.³ During the next decade, 1960 to 1970, Waterloo increased a total of 3,778;⁴ about one-third of the Black Hawk County increase of 10,434, and a percentage gain of 5.3 percent over the previous decade.⁵ However, because of land annexation, the number of people per square mile decreased from 21.78 in 1960 to 12.78. The extent of the

¹See Table 2, p. 11.

²See Table 1, p. 10.

³See Table 2, p. 11.

⁴See Table 1, p. 10.

⁵See Table 6, p. 222.

shift in the population during the period between 1960 and 1970 can be seen in the table on page 222, which compares the population growth for Waterloo and the surrounding area.¹ The table indicates that in the decade between 1960 and 1970 only two incorporated cities, Elk Run Heights and Evansdale, had a smaller percentage change than Waterloo. Only three, Waterloo, Evansdale, and Elk Run Heights, had a smaller percentage gain than Black Hawk County. Cedar Falls' percent of change in population was four times as great as Black Hawk County and seven times as great as Waterloo's; while Raymond, the city with the greatest percent of change, increased six times as much as Black Hawk County and ten times as much as Waterloo.

In the decade between 1940 and 1950, 12,366 of the 13,455 population gain was white, while the black gain represented only 1,089.² However, during the next two decades, the city of Waterloo experienced a significant increase in the black population. In the 1950-1960 decade, there was a population gain of 6,557, of which 4,332 were white and 2,225 were black.³ In the period between 1960

¹Terry B. Olin and others, Human Resources Study (Waterloo, Iowa: Metropolitan Planning Commission of Black Hawk County, 1972), Appendix, p. A-1.

²See Table 1, p.10.

³See Table 1, p.10.

Table 6
Population of Cities Within
Black Hawk County, Iowa
1960-1970

	1960	1970	Percent Change 1960-1970
BLACK HAWK COUNTY	122,482	132,916	8.5
Cedar Falls	21,195	29,597	39.6
Dunkerton	507	563	11.0
Elk Run Heights	1,124	1,175	4.5
Evansdale	5,738	5,038	-12.2
Gilbertville	533	655	22.9
Hudson	1,085	1,535	41.5
La Porte City	1,953	2,256	15.5
Raymond	378	582	54.0
Waterloo	71,755	75,533	5.3

and 1970, the 3,778 population gain included 2,038 white and 1,740 black.¹ The land areas annexed during the 1960-1970 decade were inhabited by white people; however, on the population tables, white population represents only two-thirds of the population gain for the period while the black population represents one-third of the gain. During the 1960-1970 decade, Waterloo gained 0.096 percent in black population while losing the same percentage in white population.²

This shift in population led to a number of problems in housing and education within the city, and these problems were further complicated by the decline and closing of the Illinois Central Railroad and shops and the increased mechanization of the major industries. These two industrial changes provided fewer jobs for unskilled labor, while the tendency of minority elements to segregate their housing led to problems of community and school segregation. The following tables from a study done in 1972 show the educational level and the employment within Black Hawk County.³ From the educational characteristics table, it can be seen that the largest number of Negroes surveyed had less than a high school diploma while the largest number of whites

¹See Table 1, p. 10.

²See Table 1, p. 10.

³Terry B. Olin and others, op. cit., pp. 92 ff.

Table 7

Educational Characteristics of the Negro Population
of Black Hawk County, Iowa,
1970

Years of School Completed	Total Population	Negro	Percentage of Negro
Males and Females, 25 and Over	66,773	2,606	0.0390
No School Years Completed	277	47	0.1697
Elementary: 1 - 4	799	169	0.2115
5 - 7	3,736	576	0.1542
8 Years	9,375	311	0.0332
High: 1 - 3	10,903	814	0.0747
4 Years	26,715	539	0.0202
College: 1 - 3	8,253	116	0.0141
4 or More	6,715	34	0.0051

Table 8

Occupation of Negro Employed Persons in
Black Hawk County, Iowa, 1970

	Total Population	Negro	Percentage of Negro
Total Employed Persons (16 and Over)	50,744	1,815	0.0358
Professional, Technical, and Kindred	6,995	137	0.0196
Managers, Administrators, except Farm	4,111	30	0.0073
Sales Workers	3,834	23	0.0060
Clerical and Kindred	8,334	190	0.0228
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred	6,769	233	0.0344
Operatives, except Transport	7,801	457	0.0586
Transport Equipment Operatives	1,820	66	0.0363
Laborers, except Farm	2,115	171	0.0809
Farmers and Farm Managers	909	-	-
Farm Laborers and Foremen	478	10	0.0209
Service Workers	6,886	423	0.6140
Private Household Workers	692	75	0.1084

received four years of high school or above. It can also be seen that a large number of Negroes were employed in jobs which require little or no education.

During the 1960's, this increased Negro population and the changes which it brought to the job market and to the educational system led to racial unrest. As early as 1955, a study done in a minority group-relations class at the University of Northern Iowa reported that:

Nearly all Negro families in the Waterloo metropolitan area are concentrated in one district in Waterloo. It was in this area that the Negroes settled when they first came to Waterloo. Gradually the area has become larger as the Negro population has grown. Although many Negro families have desired and attempted to move out of the deteriorated area, very few have been successful. Although a sizeable number of Negroes work in one of the industrial plants in Cedar Falls, only a few families have been able to move outside the Negro segregated area and then only into older houses in relatively undesirable areas.

A number of factors have combined to enforce a housing segregation upon the Negro population. In Cedar Falls, it is well known that many additions, especially those added to the city in recent decades, have restrictions (by which buyers have agreed not to sell to non-Caucasians) written into the abstracts of the lots. Although the U.S. Supreme Court decreed in 1948 that such "restrictive covenants" cannot be enforced in the courts, it did not forbid the making of such covenants. Though they carry no legal compulsion it may be presumed they carry social pressures. Evansdale also has much property in which the abstracts contain restrictions that the "occupant of the property must be a member of the Caucasian race." Negroes have made many attempts to secure housing in Evansdale but all efforts have failed. The city of Waterloo apparently has no property abstracts with race restrictions.

According to one informant in Evansdale the matter of restrictions has come up in city council meetings a number of times. Considerable concern has been expressed at such meetings that some Negroes might move in. One man, high in the city government

of Evansdale, stated: "We can't let Negroes in here. Everything else has happened in Evansdale. Legally we can't keep them out but we can bluff them with these abstracts and scare them."

The scare tactic to keep Negroes from moving into certain districts has been used more than once in various ways in the Waterloo area. One professional man who made the break from the segregated area a number of years ago stated that some people in the area into which he had moved had made several threats against his life. He managed to stick it out and eventually the threats subsided as no other Negroes followed him into the area.

Home owners fear that when a few Negro families have moved in others are apt to follow. This means, so they say, that property values will fall. More and more whites will think the area will become undesirable and so are apt to sell and move out. It should be noted that part of this process and the possible loss to the whites, when it happens, is due to the prejudice against Negroes. There is also some doubt as to whether it is necessarily true that property values will fall when some Negroes move into an area. Research by the Anti-Defamation League indicates that in many cases the land and house hunger of a congested minority people is so great that their eagerness to buy tends to keep the values in an area where they suddenly find it possible to buy.

There is evidence that one or two large loan agencies in Waterloo refuse to loan money to Negroes except when they build or buy in the segregated area.

During the years since the Negroes first came to Waterloo the Negro area has of course enlarged. Some families have from time to time moved into immediately adjacent areas and others have followed. This process has meant an enlargement of the segregated area but not that segregation was broken. This process has not enabled those with purchasing power for a new or better house to get into another part of town where better homes are located. There is no encouragement to building a new house in an area immediately contiguous to an area already deteriorated. Also it must be remembered that much of the area surrounding the Negro district is old and has been deteriorated for some time.

It is evident, then, that Negro housing, mostly in an old part of the city, is a highly segregated affair. It has been quite impossible for any family

to move out into a good housing district although many have made such attempts.¹

As early as 1956, attempts were being made by members of the Negro community to gain recognition. That year, Afro-American Week, then called Black History Week, was established in Waterloo.² By 1961, the city was beginning to attempt to upgrade housing within the segregated and surrounding integrated residential sections on the east side. That year, Waterloo's first urban renewal program, the Logan Avenue Project, was begun.³ This program sought to change an area which "... contained a considerable portion of the city's dilapidated, deteriorated housing, an inadequate street system, and a flood prone creek which was hardly more than an open sewer at times."⁴ Before this program was completed, 264 families and 57 individuals had been relocated and 288 structures including 345 living units had been acquired and demolished while the remaining structures were rehabilitated.⁵ The program also

¹University of Northern Iowa, A Class Study Report. Minority Group-Relations Class (Cedar Falls, Iowa: n.n., 1955), pp. 3 ff.

²West (Waterloo) High School Spectator, LIII, No. 11 (1974), 3.

³"Logan Avenue Project Closed Out," Waterloo Courier, November 10, 1974, p. 22.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

made community improvements: Virden Creek was enclosed; Highway 63 was re-routed; an underpass was constructed; and Sullivan Park was established. The total cost of the entire program was \$5,066,000, of which Waterloo contributed \$1,689,000 and the federal government paid \$3,377,000. The project was completed with construction of new paving, sidewalks, curbs, gutters, and sewers and extensive seeding, sodding, and tree planting.¹

In 1964, the Waterloo Citizen's Committee was formed with an integrated membership. The purpose of this organization was to help black citizens become involved in city government.² The following year, James Jackson became the first black elected to the Iowa Legislature from Waterloo.³

In the same year, 1965, the Waterloo City Council created the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations. The purpose of this organization was to study race relationships and to upgrade understanding among Waterloo citizens. It was also proposed that the organization help to guard the equality of human rights.⁴

¹Ibid.

²West (Waterloo) High School Spectator, loc. cit.

³Duane Swinton, "Early Black Settlers Were True Pioneers," Waterloo Courier, August 18, 1974, p. 13.

⁴"Mayor's Human Relations Committee is Created. Group to Devote Efforts to Greater Understanding," Waterloo Courier, March 3, 1965, p. 2.

In January of 1966, the Jesse Cosby Community Center was opened in an area where 78.6 percent of the families were Negroes.¹ It was sponsored by the Community Action Council and received a federal grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity in the amount of \$64,000 in federal money and an additional \$9,000 was contributed from local funds.²

During the summer of the same year, racial violence occurred in Waterloo for the first time. On June 1, a Negro jail inmate committed suicide.³ On June 5, Negroes at the newly constructed Logan Avenue underpass began throwing rocks, whiskey bottles, and other debris damaging numerous cars and injuring at least four persons.⁴ A demonstration by blacks was also held in front of the city hall. The violence continued throughout the weekend.⁵ The following week, Negroes met with the mayor and city council and a

¹"Cosby Center Now Open; Seek Funds," Waterloo Courier, January 25, 1966, p. 4.

²"OK Grant For Cosby Center," Waterloo Courier, June 14, 1966, p. 5.

³"Prisoner Hangs Self in City Jail," Waterloo Courier, June 1, 1966, p. 3.

⁴"Rocks and Bottles Fly in Outbreak," Waterloo Courier, June 5, 1966, p. 7.

⁵"Nab Whites on Weapons Charges," Waterloo Courier, June 7, 1966, p. 1.

committee was set up¹ to help resolve the problems of racial tension.²

In July of 1967, another riot broke out in the predominantly Negro district. Negroes smashed windows, hurled rocks at vehicles and buildings and overturned cars. Highway patrolmen were called in to help quell the rioting.³ Later that month, several reports were made to the community and city council in an attempt to gain some insight into the violence. The Negroes felt that business men and city leaders made promises to them and then did nothing about it; that the people on the west side did not care what happened in the Negro area; that there was a great deal of social segregation in Waterloo; that there was a double standard of law enforcement; that black housing was poor; and that black teen-agers had trouble getting jobs, even though the job situation for adult Negroes in Waterloo was fairly good. They also felt that Negro youth needed more encouragement and recognition from Negro parents and others in the Negro community.⁴

¹"No Connection, Says Leader. Grievance Group Disavows Lawsuit," Waterloo Courier, June 10, 1966, p. 3.

²Gene Raffensperger, "Talks Ease Race Tension at Waterloo," Des Moines Register, June 9, 1966, p. 1.

³Nick Lamberto, "Police Roam Area After Negro Riot," Des Moines Register, July 11, 1967, p. 1.

⁴James H. Dall, "How Waterloo's Negroes Feel Towards the White Community," Waterloo Courier, July 20, 1967, p. 7.

The Reverend Cyril Engler, a state-employed Catholic priest working for the Iowa Manpower Development Council, surveyed the situation. He made the following recommendations:

1. An immediate attempt should be made to develop the concept of community.
2. A council consisting of existing government agencies, social agencies, political leaders and leaders of the economic power structure should be formed to identify gaps of service and assign responsibility for filling these gaps to existing programs.
3. Immediate programs should be developed in the area of work training (specifically a tailoring school).
4. Immediate steps should be taken to enable the Negro to purchase or rent housing on the west side.
5. Long-range plans should be developed by the Board of Education to do away with de facto segregation, even though it means the building of new elementary schools or the re-routing of buses, or the realignment of districts, to insure an integrated educational program.
6. No project or governmental program should be initiated without thoroughly interpreting the program to the community.
7. The effectiveness of the counseling and out-reach service of the Employment Security office should be seriously questioned.¹

Following the severe rioting in the summer of 1967 the Waterloo Commission on Human Rights also conducted their own survey. They proposed the following recommendations to the city council:

1. Establish a community service officer program, which would in effect be an apprenticeship for policemen.

¹Jerry Szumski, "Finds Gulf Between Races in Waterloo," Des Moines Register, July 23, 1967, p. 4.

2. Form an ad hoc committee of minority group members and youth as a channel of communication.
3. Take steps to insure that police and other public officials do not use inappropriate language.
4. Expand training program in human relations.
5. Seek federal aid for police-community relations programs.
6. Police should expand their active sponsorship of youth activities.
7. Possibly hire a full-time officer to discuss police programs in the schools.¹

During the period from 1966 through 1972, efforts were made to implement some of the programs which the minority group had demanded. However, violence continued as did racial incidents; but the location of these incidents shifted and the school was frequently involved. The situation became so severe that athletic contests between the rival East High and West High had to be moved from the school gymnasiums to the neutral ground of the Waterloo Hippodrome; and football games, normally evening events, were played in the afternoon. All three public schools must use Sloane Wallace Field on the west side for their football games. During the past two years, vandalism on West Fifth Street, the major artery between the east and west sides, became so severe that a group of parents and police guards was organized to protect the property of merchants in the area on nights when East High played.

¹Stephen Seplow, "Findings in Waterloo Disorder," Des Moines Register, July 26, 1967, p. 3.

Within the community, a number of efforts were made and are continuing to be made to improve the situation of Negroes. During the past ten years, a number of programs have been implemented. One of these is a small-job-placement program for senior citizens.¹ Adult basic education programs are now offered at the Jesse Cosby Community Center.² A volunteer parents' organization has been started to supervise young teen-agers.³ The school district has been reorganized, busing is used to overcome the racial imbalance in the schools, and open enrollment was implemented.⁴ The Home Start Program was begun to help disadvantaged pre-school children.⁵ The County Board of Supervisors organized a Community Action Council.⁶ Efforts

¹"Job Service Program For Senior Citizens Planned," Waterloo Courier, April 17, 1970, p. 4.

²"Adult Basic Classes to Be At Cosby," Waterloo Courier, September 20, 1970, p. 3.

³Volunteer Parents' Organization, Waterloo, Iowa, August, 1972, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)

⁴"Sup't Hohl Recommends Open Enrollment Program," Waterloo Courier, May 4, 1968, p. 6.

⁵"'Home Start' Program in Waterloo Schools Funded," Waterloo Courier, March 5, 1968, p. 3.

⁶Iowa League of Women Voters, Waterloo, Iowa--A Good Place To Live (Waterloo, Iowa: Morris Printing Company, 1968), p. 23.

have been made to recruit Negro teachers.¹ Several blacks have been elected to various important positions. For example, Sylvester Haughton was appointed to fill an unexpired term on the Hawkeye Institute of Technology Board of Directors;² Doctor Robert Harvey was elected to the Waterloo Board of Education;³ and Mary Berdell was elected to the Waterloo City Council.⁴

By 1975, all white-owned businesses in the Negro area were closed. The last one to move out of the neighborhood was the Webbeking Bakery which relocated after a white customer was robbed at knife point in the store. Following the picketing at the Logan Avenue Plaza in 1972,⁵ Eagle's Discount Supermarket closed its outlet there, forcing the residents of the black area to travel greater distances to do their grocery shopping. Since then May's Drug Store has also relocated.

The problems brought about by rapid expansion and

¹"Recruit Negro Teachers," Des Moines Register, August 18, 1968, p. 4.

²Swinton, loc. cit.

³"Dr. Harvey in 'Who's Who'," Waterloo Courier, August 30, 1974, p. 5.

⁴Swinton, loc. cit.

⁵"Whites Confront Mayor on Picket Issue," Waterloo Courier, June 23, 1972, p. 3.

minority unrest were further complicated by the industrial and commercial transitions which occurred during the period. The transportation industry was undergoing a change.

Waterloo's location on the railroads had helped to develop the city as an industrial center. As motorized transportation increased, the city developed connections to markets in all directions through three major highways. In 1944, the city set aside 1,702 acres of recently annexed land for a Municipal Airport.¹ By 1946, Waterloo had completed a \$2 million Municipal Airport, which was at that time the largest in area in the entire Midwest.² During that year, the airport was opened for air-passenger, express, and mail service to all points in the nation.³

As air transport increased, railroad transport decreased. Because of lack of business, the Illinois Central Railroad began to move its services out of Waterloo; and, by 1968, the entire operation had been moved from Waterloo to Chicago, and the Illinois Central shops were closed. The closing of the shops and the moving of the railroad eliminated jobs formerly available for unskilled laborers. It also eliminated job opportunities for blacks

¹"Battle in Courts as City Grows," loc. cit.

²Waterloo (Black Hawk County, Iowa) City Directory, 1946 (Omaha, Nebraska: R. L. Polk and Company, 1946), p. 13.

³Ibid.

as porters and dining car employees on the Illinois Central. Other railroads which passed through the city had never offered job opportunities to black residents. By 1970, Waterloo had no rail passenger service.

During the 1940's, highway construction throughout the area had kept pace with construction in the rest of the state; however, during the 1960's and early 1970's, northeast Iowa began to fall behind in the area of super-highways and interstate highways. Although a section of Highway 218 between Waterloo and Cedar Falls was widened to six lanes, other highways remained as they had been in the 1940's.¹

During the period, several new industries were established in the city. The greatest industrial expansion, however, was made by the John Deere Waterloo Tractor Company. Improvements were made on their existing plant; construction of the John Deere Experimental Center was completed; and, in 1975, John Deere opened a new 23-acre engine assembly plant on the west side of the city.² Land was also obtained, in 1975, for construction of new

¹"United Front Supports Better Highways," Waterloo Courier, November 5, 1975, p. 3.

²Jack Hovelson, "New Deere Plant Begins Production," Des Moines Register, July 25, 1975, p. 10.

warehouse facilities on the east edge of Waterloo.¹

Waterloo's other major industry, the Rath Packing Company, was plagued by strikes and labor trouble during the late 1940's and early 1950's. The company began to show decreased profits following a violent strike in 1948.² One of the major results of this labor trouble was a change in control of the plant. Local 46, United Packinghouse Workers of America, was able to obtain enough control to dictate management of the company to a certain extent. Under their control, management personnel has shown an extremely high turnover; and the plant has been deteriorating financially ever since.³ In January, 1976, the company applied for, and was granted, a \$6 million loan from the federal government in order to continue operations.⁴ Throughout the period, from 1950 to the present, employees at the Rath Packing Company have been constantly aware that their jobs might be in jeopardy because of the closing of

¹"Firm Has Options on 1,800 Acres. Deere Expansion Site Told," Waterloo Courier, September 22, 1975, p. 1.

²"Guard on Duty; Murder Filed," Waterloo Courier, May 20, 1948, p. 1.

³"Rath Executives Predict Better Year," Waterloo Courier, January 25, 1976, p. 39.

⁴Ibid.

the plant.¹ The plant has also been plagued by frequent layoffs during this period.

With decreased employment at the Rath Packing Company, the closing of the Illinois Central shops, and increased emphasis on mechanization and specialization within Waterloo's major industries, employment for unskilled labor in the city has become increasingly scarce.² The educational level table given on page 224 indicates that blacks over the age of 25 have fewer members among the high school graduates and above than does the white race in Black Hawk County. The decrease in unskilled jobs and the increase in emphasis on specialization would, therefore, tend to give rise to a higher rate of unemployment among the minority group.

Probably the major change which occurred in the city during this period was the decline of the downtown business area. In 1930, Waterloo's retail center was located in the center of the city about equally divided on the east and west sides of the river. At that time, Waterloo had two department stores, one on each side of the river; a number of retail clothing stores; and was well supplied with outlets for home furnishings and other types of merchandise.

¹"Rath Packing Announces Cutback in Employment," Waterloo Courier, January 20, 1975, p. 3.

²"Black Hawk Unemployment Up," Waterloo Courier, April 6, 1975, p. 13.

Within the city at that time, it was possible for people on every income level to find a selection of goods and services which they could afford.

With the closing of Lauerman's department store in 1938, Black's, originally homeowned and by that time a member of the Allied Chain, remained the city's only department store serving the upper-middle and upper-class citizens. Most of Waterloo's clothing stores, catering to people in these income brackets, were also homeowned, as were many of the furniture stores and drug stores. During the period from 1946 to 1975, many of these stores went out of business, usually because of the retirement or death of the owners. No new stores entered the business district to replace those which closed. During this period, Waterloo also lost several chain furniture stores, including Davidson's, and again no new stores were opened to replace them.

During the 1960's, four shopping centers were built in the area. The first of these to be opened was the Logan Avenue Plaza in 1959. Later, in 1962, the Black Hawk Village Shopping Center was opened; and the adjoining College Square Shopping Center was opened in 1967. With the opening of College Square, a number of new businesses came into the area, including a Younker's outlet. In 1969, the Crossroads Shopping Center was opened. With the opening of College Square, retail profits began to shift out of the downtown

area; after Crossroads was completed, this shift in customer spending increased. The fact that shoppers visited Crossroads or College Square more frequently than they did downtown led to many retail businesses either shifting their entire operation to the shopping centers or opening branches in one or both.

Prior to the opening of the shopping centers, Black's had had about one-third of one business block offering five floors of merchandise. By 1975, this area was cut to three floors with their entire furniture inventory being sold at their Black Hawk Village store. They had also opened one store at College Square and one at Crossroads.

One problem, however, still remained and this was the small selection of merchandise available in the upper-middle and upper-class brackets. The city saw the opening of far more discount stores. J. C. Penney, Montgomery Ward, Sears Roebuck, Arlan, K-Mart, Grant, Woolco, Wells, Cook, and Clark all opened branch stores, some in the downtown area, later moving to the shopping centers and others confronting the new six-lane Highway 218. There were, in fact, so many stores of this type that the city could not support them; and Arlan, Grant, Wells, Cook, and Clark have all closed their branches here.

The building of these shopping centers and the decline in the quality of retail establishments were not

the only causes for the decline of the city. Business and professional men were faced with parking problems in the downtown area. It became necessary for a doctor to park his car four or five blocks from his office. Therefore, answering hospital emergencies during office hours became not only inconvenient, but often, because of the time lost in walking from office to car, dangerous to the patient's life. Patients and customers also found parking a problem. Therefore, not only doctors but also dentists, real estate men, and other business and professional men moved their offices from the downtown area into residential areas. A number of small offices and professional buildings were constructed. Probably the largest of these was the Professional Building constructed with access to Saint Francis Hospital. This building was planned and developed by professional people, many of whom now occupy it. All of those occupying the building are not on the staff at the hospital but still appreciate the convenience of a large parking area outside the door; and, in the case of dentists, medical assistance only a few steps away. Doctors, of course, appreciate the hospital's connecting emergency ward with trained nursing personnel, the X-ray department, the physical therapy department, and the operating facilities which are available in the section of the hospital adjoining the Professional Building. Since the County Courthouse and the City Hall remained in their original downtown locations, the

largest percentage of the lawyers still maintain their downtown offices.

It was not until the downtown business area was faced with a great many empty buildings and very few shoppers that any effort was made to attract new retail businesses or branches of retail chain stores to the area.¹ The first major effort made to revitalize downtown Waterloo was the decision to spend \$5.5 million to build the ConWay Civic-Convention Center.² This building was completed in 1975. After ConWay was begun and long before it was completed, business and professional leaders in Waterloo began to realize that both businesses and hotel facilities would be needed if the Civic Center was to attract conventions of a size and importance that would bring outside money into the downtown area. An effort was begun, and is still going on, to secure new retail businesses for the downtown area. It is hoped that the city may also be able to attract a branch of one of the major department stores to locate near the Civic Center. In the past year, the Chamber of Commerce has been making a definite effort to secure retail businesses where, in the past, they have expended all their efforts in securing industry.

¹"Downtown Development Meeting Topic," Waterloo Courier, June 11, 1975, p. 5.

²"Waterloo Civic Center Opens," Des Moines Register, October 28, 1975, p. 10.

With the building of ConWay, a number of other improvements have been made in the downtown section of the city.¹ Streets have been redesigned, a new Fourth Street bridge has been constructed, Fourth Street has been straightened,² and the area of Fourth Street on both sides of the river has undergone a program of beautification.³ There are plans being made to demolish a number of old buildings dating back to the late 1800's and to replace them with new buildings.

During the age of the railroads, hotel accommodations in Waterloo had been located close to the passenger depots. As motor travel increased and railroad passenger service decreased, a number of motels were built on the edges of the city on the major highways. The business of the hotels decreased steadily. During the 1960's, Waterloo's two largest hotels, The President and the Russell-Lamson, were converted into apartment hotels and no longer took transient guests. With the construction of the ConWay Civic-Convention Center, it became necessary to secure more hotel-motel space in downtown Waterloo since only one motel

¹Editorial, "Downtown Face-Lift Shows Continuing Waterloo Progress," Waterloo Courier, December 7, 1975, p. 4.

²See Chapter 3, p. 186.

³Editorial, "Downtown Face-Lift Shows Continuing Waterloo Progress," loc. cit.

was located within walking distance of ConWay.¹ Negotiations are, at present, underway to obtain a large chain hotel for the city.²

The period between 1946 and 1975 brought not only great changes in population, industry, and business but it also brought many changes in the educational system of the city. Few new buildings had been constructed and little money had been spent for improvements during the 1920-1945 period. By 1946, the city was served by fifteen elementary schools, two junior high schools, two senior high schools, four parochial schools, one business college, one training school for nurses, one beauty-culture school, and two flying schools.³ In the fall of that year, the Waterloo Community Schools had a total enrollment of 8,506.⁴ During the next twenty years, this number showed a consistent increase until it peaked in 1968 with a total enrollment of 19,873.⁵ The increase was largely due to three factors: the migration to

¹"Metro Area 'Inns' Filled to Capacity," Waterloo Courier, October 22, 1975, p. 1.

²Ibid.

³Waterloo (Black Hawk County, Iowa) City Directory, 1946, loc. cit.

⁴Statement by Lawrence Garlock, student placement and accounting director in school administration office, personal interview, Waterloo, Iowa, December 1, 1975.

⁵Ibid.

the city, the increased birth rate which followed immediately after World War II, and the annexation of land which took place following 1944. Following 1968, there was a consistent decline in enrollment; until, by 1975, the total school enrollment for the Waterloo Community Schools had dropped to 16,421.¹

Because little had been done to improve school buildings or to replace older buildings during the 1920 to 1945 period, the school district was faced with a necessity of closing buildings which were no longer safe to use, and with the necessity of building new school buildings to replace older ones. It was also necessary, in some cases, to add more space to existing school buildings to take care of the increased enrollment. By 1975, the Waterloo Community Schools had three senior high schools, six junior high schools, and thirty elementary schools. There were also one parochial senior high, six parochial elementary schools, as well as one business college, two beauty-culture schools, one barber college, and the Area Seven Hawkeye Institute of Technology located in the city.²

The school system was not only faced with the construction of new buildings but it also was faced with

¹ Ibid.

² Waterloo (Black Hawk County, Iowa) City Directory, 1975 (Kansas City, Missouri: R. L. Polk and Company, 1975), p. 9.

helping to find solutions of the racial problems which were facing the city. The school became directly involved in racial confrontations several times, since the school was a common meeting ground for children coming from segregated black and segregated white areas.¹

A number of programs were implemented in an attempt to solve the problem of segregated schools. One of the most successful of these was the Bridgeway Project which was begun in 1970.² The project was implemented at Grant Elementary School which had an enrollment of 365 students, all of whom were black. The goal for the project was to have an enrollment at Grant between 350 and 400 students with about half white and half black. Enrollment in this project was voluntary, and students were admitted from all areas of the city. The team-teaching concept was used and a maximum teacher-student ratio of twenty-five to one was proposed. The school would also have adequate teacher-aide assistance so that individualized instruction could be carried out successfully. The students were to be divided into groups rather than grades with promotion from one group to the next possible on the completion of certain requirements. This concept, it was felt, would reduce the

¹"Text of Report by Citizens' Committee on Racial Tensions," Waterloo Courier, February 9, 1969, p. 8.

²Karen Church, "Will Knowlton Heads Bridgeway Project," Waterloo Courier, October 25, 1970, p. 1.

pressure of passing from one grade to the next.¹

Voluntary open enrollment was implemented in 1968.² This program, however, did not function as successfully as the administration had hoped that it would. Open enrollment on a voluntary basis was discarded with the opening of Central High School in 1972. At that time, the entire school system was reorganized so that district lines and attendance areas were drawn in such a way that school desegregation was automatically implemented. Since that time, the racial balance within the three high schools and the majority of the elementary schools has been kept fairly even. In the area of the junior high schools, the geographical location of the buildings has made it impossible to integrate completely; but integration was implemented where busing was financially feasible.

The shifting of boundaries necessitated a great deal of busing. Parents of Waterloo school children have not been entirely in favor of this forced busing. In 1973, a group known as the Neighborhood School Association was formed by parents who opposed forced busing.³ This

¹Ibid.

²"Sup't Hohl Recommends Open Enrollment Program," loc. cit.

³Jack Hovelson, "A New Power in Waterloo," Des Moines Register, September 16, 1973, p. 1.

organization has become so strong, claiming at present over 9,000 members, that they are able to control all but two of the seven seats on the Waterloo Board of Education.¹

To combat the influence of the Neighborhood School Association, a second group, Excellence in Education Association, was formed in 1975.² At present, this group has not attained sufficient strength to offer a serious challenge to the Neighborhood School Association.

One of the first things that the Neighborhood School Association-controlled board did was to curtail the number of federal programs for which the school applied.³ The effect of the Supreme Court decision ruling that forced busing could not be used to desegregate schools has, at the present time, had little impact on the situation in Waterloo.

Within the schools themselves, certain programs were established in an attempt to give recognition to minority groups. Courses in black history and minority literature

¹Editorial, "School Election Reflects a Change in Voter Emphasis," Waterloo Courier, September 10, 1975, p. 4.

²"Group Forms to Support Quality Integration Plan," Waterloo Courier, May 21, 1975, p. 14.

³Jack Hovelson, "Force Waterloo Cutoff of Desegregation Funds," Des Moines Register, March 12, 1975, p. 1.

were begun at the high school level.¹ Libraries in schools at all levels added a large number of books relating to minority groups² and programs such as Head Start were begun to bring the level of pre-school children from disadvantaged families up to the level of children from advantaged families with whom they would enter kindergarten.³ Enrollment in the Head Start program was voluntary and cooperation from parents has been sometimes questionable.

Some of the changes which took place as a result of minority unrest benefited not only minority but also majority children. Special education classes were greatly expanded in an attempt to reach children who were retarded. During the 1975-1976 school year, two new programs, one dealing with learning disabilities and the other dealing with the emotionally disturbed, were implemented under the guidance of Area Education Agency-7. A pilot program for children with learning and discipline problems was recently established on the junior high level using a self-contained classroom. If this pilot program is successful, plans are

¹"Course Opens Monday at East on 'Black History'," Waterloo Courier, September 26, 1968, p. 3.

²"History of Negro Part of Classes," Waterloo Courier, August 30, 1968, p. 3.

³"Head Start Set for New Year," Waterloo Courier, August 25, 1974, p. 15.

being made to expand it to the other five junior high schools.

An experiment is also underway at one of the junior high schools to establish a Middle School program. This would, if adopted throughout the system, result in a division of primary grades, middle school, and a four-year high school. This program would do away with the traditional 6-3-3 plan. Many of the new elementary schools in the system are now primary schools, rather than six-year schools, which will simplify the transition to the Middle School program.

When the schools were integrated, a human relations program for teachers was begun at the high school level.¹ This has since been carried downward through the junior high and into the elementary school.

School boundaries as well as city boundaries were greatly expanded during this period. The Orange Township Independent School District, the East Waterloo Township School District, and a part of the Mount Vernon Township School District became a part of the Waterloo Community Schools either through annexation of land or through the

¹"School Building Program Launched," Waterloo Courier, January 19, 1969, p. 36.

incorporation of the school district.¹ At the present time, school district boundaries are not consistent with city boundaries. The boundary of the Cedar Falls Community School District overlaps the boundary of the city of Waterloo. The way in which taxes are levied in the two districts places an additional financial burden on the people living in this overlapping area.

When the new Central High School was built in 1972, the only residential land area available was located one-half mile or less inside the boundary of the Waterloo School District. High School students from that area who are in the Cedar Falls School District must be bused across the city of Cedar Falls when they could walk to the new Waterloo high school. As enrollment declines in the Waterloo schools, the question of efficient school building usage is becoming a prominent one. Perhaps the relocation of boundaries and attendance areas on a county-wide basis will need to be considered in the future.

The population growth table, number 6, shown on page 222, also indicates that surrounding towns in Black Hawk County are having problems with rapidly increasing enrollment. Hudson, with its 41.5 percent increase in population in the decade between 1960 and 1970, has been particularly

¹Statement by Lawrence Garlock, student placement and accounting director in school administration office, personal interview, Waterloo, Iowa, December 1, 1975.

hard pressed to keep up with its population growth. The building of the John Deere Engine Plant on land in juxtaposition to the boundaries of Cedar Falls and Hudson threatens to further increase Hudson's population. This will place an added strain on that city when it becomes necessary for them to expand such city services as sewers, telephone lines, electric lines, and paved streets into new additions which will be needed to house an increasing number of workmen. During the present period of inflation the expansion of city services will place a great burden on the residents of this small town; their school district has already been faced, through a 41.5 percent population increase, with a constant building program.

The period between 1946 and 1975 has been a period of adjustments, not only in the schools but also in the downtown area and in the city as a whole. The early growth of the city and its relatively easy development during the early part of the twentieth century led to a complacency which has been shaken by the racial tensions and the decline of the downtown area during the last thirty years. Although business, industry, and education have faced some relatively severe trials during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, they are now working to overcome their problems through busing in the schools, through the development and revitalization of the downtown area, through attempts to attract new business and industry, and through general programs to upgrade the total community.

Chapter 4

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to determine, from a social and historical approach, the various contributing factors that led to the present problems confronting the people in Waterloo, Iowa, and to provide recommendations which may help to create an atmosphere of understanding, impartiality, and awareness among the total citizenry.

A number of social and demographic problems exist today between the two major racial groups within the city. These problems are due to the way in which the city grew, the social and educational characteristics of the minority group who migrated here, the lack of city planning during the early period, the tendency of like groups to segregate themselves, and the failure of people to recognize the social changes which are brought about by technological development.

These factors brought about problems in every phase of community life. Since the schools were the point at which the majority and the minority contacts were most noticeable, they were the first to find these problems

obvious. Other aspects of community life were not so intensely affected, but a solution for the problem cannot become the burden of one segment of society. In studying the problem, it was found that a great deal of work must be done within the total community in order to alleviate the social strain in the city.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate the development of Waterloo from its founding to the present time in order to help clarify the reasons why a situation of racial unrest and tension had arisen in this city, particularly within the past decade. After the investigation had been completed, conclusions were drawn and recommendations were made.

Procedure

The procedures used in the study were historical investigation of the growth of the city through reading early memoirs, newspapers, magazines, and interviewing lifelong residents. In order to understand the broader concepts of the racial problem, investigation was also done in black history and black philosophy. This information was correlated and conclusions were drawn.

Certain basic assumptions were made at the beginning of the study in order to avoid confusion. It was assumed that:

1. The majority of people the world over are motivated by the same psychological needs, wants, and desires.

2. That the make-up of Waterloo is largely the same as the make-up of any other industrial city of the same size.

3. That the problems facing Waterloo are basically the same as those faced by any other city without an adequate area for expansion.

4. That a city is only an aggregate total of the people who make it up.

5. That home background has more influence on the child's opinions and prejudices than the school does because its influence is earlier and longer.

A number of sociological terms which would be used were defined in order to prevent misunderstanding.

Literature relating to racial problems was discussed so that the reader would become familiar with minority social and psychological movements. The history of the city was then explored so that conclusions could be drawn regarding the causes of the problem and recommendations could be made for improvement.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions were drawn:

1. That segregation had been brought about by the physical development of the city.

2. That inability to keep pace with, and see, the problems which would be brought about by technological change had created social problems.
3. That little or nothing had been done within the community to alleviate the problems of the low-income groups.
4. That little or nothing had been done to help migrant adults achieve educational equality.
5. That neither the majority nor the minority individuals seemed concerned with making personal changes which would lead to greater understanding.
6. That the decline of the downtown business district and the growth of the outlying shopping centers was adding to, rather than alleviating, the distance between groups.
7. That community groups outside the school were doing little or nothing, individually or in mass, to establish programs which would contribute to greater interracial understanding.
8. That competition for employment, particularly within the unskilled and semi-skilled classes, was leading to a wider chasm than had previously existed, since the number of these jobs available was consistently decreasing.
9. That the tendency of like groups to segregate themselves was a major contributing factor in the lack of interracial understanding.

10. That efforts being made by the city were in directions other than social, and that improvements financed by state and federal money were not contributing to the relief of the problems within the low-income groups.

11. That, although the schools had developed a system-wide human relations program, this program was being presented on a yearly, rather than on an on-going basis.

12. That the expansion of industry within the community is claiming more and more land which might otherwise be used for in-city residential development and forcing more and more people into the satellite communities of Cedar Falls, Evansdale, Elk Run Heights, Hudson, and other small, surrounding cities.

13. That retail business tends to have an isolationist attitude which sends shoppers outside the community for the variety which they want, thus decreasing the number of jobs available within the city in these areas. This is a problem which affects majority and minority both, since it decreases the number of jobs which might be available to people without education beyond high school.

14. That the early separation of the city and the competition between east side and west side is still reflected in the attitude of many west side residents; that the problem of segregation is an east side problem, not a total community problem.

15. That the decline of the downtown business area

and the closing of retail outlets due to racial unrest has caused the minority members of the community to go further and further from home to shop.

16. That the school district is in the process of unifying the curriculum, thus drawing the various segments of the community closer together; and working to eliminate the distinction which existed when the city had two school districts.

17. That the opening of a third high school has done a great deal toward eliminating the competition between East High and West High in athletics as well as in scholarship; but that, in the minds of many older residents, this competition still exists.

18. That the media has made very little effort toward aiding in solutions for the problems of segregation through its treatment of the news items which are reported.

19. That busing was instituted by the Waterloo Community School District so that school segregation was eliminated, even though it led to the formation of anti-busing groups. Within the city, those people who did not approve of busing have worked to make their opinions felt in a peaceful and acceptable manner.

20. That the city is going along with national guidelines in employment practices and fair housing practices to the best of their ability. Even though progress is slow in this area, attempts are being made by the schools, businesses,

and industries to achieve racial balance.

21. That, through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project 2001, the Y.W.C.A., the Y.M.C.A., and the Waterloo Recreation Center, attempts are being made to help both majority and minority youth to find employment and recreation as acceptable outlets for their energy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Although some progress has been made in certain areas, greater effort must be made by the entire community. It is recommended:

1. That greater emphasis be made in the field of desegregation of housing, even though this may mean that segregated pockets must be set up throughout the city.

2. That the Home Start, Head Start, and Follow Through Program should be continued and expanded.

3. That efforts be made in curriculum planning to desegregate to the greatest extent possible any group or committee which is set up.

4. That a Community Awareness Program be set up in order to familiarize citizens with all aspects of community life including living conditions and housing problems faced by their fellow citizens.

5. That the human relations program should be extended as an on-going program and that this program should also be set up by churches, industrial groups, and other

community organizations.

6. That efforts should be made to include more minority members in committees and advisory groups.

7. That black churches and black civic organizations should be eliminated and their members integrated with existing white organizations in the interests of desegregation. A black civic organization or a black church is an outgrowth of segregation.

8. That the media should make an effort to eliminate words such as "west" and "east" when dealing with happenings in various sections of the city.

9. That the society section of the local newspaper should make a greater effort to include such things as wedding announcements and wedding pictures from minority groups.

10. That the more fortunate members of the black community should put forth greater effort to help their less-fortunate neighbors upgrade their living standards and behavior.

11. That students be made more aware of the fact that, since their only contact at the present time is in the schools, it is their behavior and attitudes toward each other which will create the only lasting impression to be gained by another group.

12. That the social and political groups within the city institute a strong reeducation program in the area of

desegregation of housing.

13. That the Board of Realtors make a greater effort to show desegregated housing to members of the minority group, particularly those who are interested in home buying.

14. That in the hiring of minority by a business man whose greatest clientele come from the majority, care be taken in the area of personality so that the majority will come in contact with minority members who will leave a favorable impression. The more favorable contacts which can be made between members of the minority and the majority group, the easier it will be to bring about integration. Unless integration is achieved on the level of the individual, it cannot be achieved on the level of the mass.

15. That a concentrated effort be made to set up programs to help poorly educated adults to obtain basic skills which are necessary in everyday life. Such programs should be on a basic level and not only deal with such fundamental skills as reading and writing, but also fundamentals of home repair, food preparation, skillful buying, and simple economics. These programs should be made available without charge and perhaps could be federally funded.

16. That both industry and the community take the responsibility for establishing programs of reeducation or continuing education for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, thus helping to eliminate the hard-core unemployed who have no skills to sell. These programs should be made available

without charge and perhaps could be federally funded.

17. That more effort be made to establish low-cost housing in various areas of the city.

18. That more effort be made to help renovate existing property which is salvagable and more effort be made to clean up areas of the community which are deteriorating. This might be a worthwhile project for civic organizations to undertake and would aid in giving the recipient a feeling of personal worth in that he would have the responsibility for helping himself, rather than simply being helped.

19. That the Neighborhood Youth Corps, Project 2001, and other projects should be expanded, and business and industry should make more effort to help in providing jobs for high school students.

20. That greater effort should be made to revitalize the downtown area shopping center and to give people a larger variety of merchandise, since this would make shopping more convenient for various groups in the city as well as providing additional jobs in the semi-skilled areas.

21. That employers within the community should continue their efforts to find qualified minority employees.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

It is suggested that the following might present areas for further study:

1. A comparable study of progress being made in improving interracial relations and understanding in Waterloo might be conducted after five or ten years to see what progress has been made.

2. Research and planning in the area of encouraging and establishing integrated housing throughout the city.

3. An examination of methods being used, or of possible use, in attracting business and industry to an area to provide more employment, particularly in the areas of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

4. The feasibility of establishing a single-unit metropolitan area, thus offering a wider area for integrated housing and reducing the duplication of administrative jobs throughout the area.

5. A study to determine the feasibility and practicality of establishing and maintaining a county-wide public school system in Black Hawk County, thus allowing for integration on a wider basis.

6. A study of the financing and curriculum development to be used as a basis for establishing the types of classes which were recommended above for poorly educated people to give them jobs-salable skills and skills needed in personal living.

7. A study of the city comparable to Waterloo which faces the same problems Waterloo faces to determine whether their problems are similar.

8. An attempt to develop a feasible curriculum program for a comprehensive high school which will provide equal educational opportunities for all students without being so expensive that it is impractical.

9. An attempt to set up a curriculum for job-oriented high school students which will include the language arts, social studies, and mathematics classes as well as industrial arts and commercial classes.

10. An investigation into what is being done in the area of human relations in school systems outside Waterloo, but within the State of Iowa, as a means of improving the human relations program in Waterloo.

11. An investigation of the feasibility of setting up some type of human relations program for the students in addition to the one which is presented for the teachers.

12. An investigation into possible areas of human relations which could be carried on by church groups, civic organizations, or industries. This type of program might be worked out so that packets are available and outline a program which would be feasible without too great an outlay of money or too large an expenditure of administrative time within the organization.

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APPENDIX A

Civil Rights Act of 1964

This act provides for the following things:

Title I: Prohibits discrimination in voting by citizens.

Title II: Prohibits discrimination or refusal of service or access to places of public accommodation on basis of race in hotels, motels, restaurants, gas stations, and places of amusement.

Title III: Prohibits discrimination on basis of race in access to publicly owned or operated facilities such as parks, stadiums, and swimming pools.

APPENDIXES

Title IV: Provides for the desegregation of schools and grants technical and financial aid to assist in school desegregation.

Title V: Extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission through January 31, 1965.

Title VI: Prohibits racial discrimination in any program receiving federal aid.

Title VII: Prohibits discrimination by employer or labor union. By 1963, this act covered programs to which employers and unions were subject.

APPENDIX A

Civil Rights Act of 1964¹

This act provides for the following things:

- Title I: Prohibits discrimination in voting regulations.
- Title II: Prohibits discrimination or refusal of service on account of race in hotels, motels, restaurants, gasoline stations, and places of amusement.
- Title III: Prohibits discrimination because of race in access to publicly owned or operated facilities such as parks, stadiums, and swimming pools.
- Title IV: Provides for the desegregation of schools and grants technical and financial aid to assist in school desegregation.
- Title V: Extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission through January 31, 1968.
- Title VI: Prohibits racial discrimination in any program receiving federal aid.
- Title VII: Prohibits discrimination by employers or unions. By 1968, this act covered organizations employing 25 or more.

¹Condensed from George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (4th ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 462 f.

Title VIII: Directs the Census Bureau to compile statistics of registration and voting by race in areas of the country designated by the Civil Rights Commission.

Title IX: Provides for federal interference in cases where private persons have been denied equal protection by the law.

Title X: Establishes a Community Relations Service to help conciliate racial disputes.

Title XI: Guarantees jury trials for criminal contempt under any part of the act by Title I.

Titles I, II, III, IV, VI, and VII carry provisions which allow the Attorney General to enforce the acts in the Federal Court.

APPENDIX B

Civil Rights Act of 1968¹

This act provides for the following things:

- Title I: Provides penalties for interfering with the freedoms guaranteed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Covers riots and penalties for riots.
- Title II: Deals with the rights of Indians.
- Title III: Provides a code governing courts of Indian offenses.
- Title IV: Deals with jurisdiction over criminal and civil actions.
- Title V: Governs offenses in Indian country. It amends Title 18 of United States Code, Section 1,153.
- Title VI: Deals with the employment of legal counsel for Indians.
- Title VII: Protects the Constitutional rights of Indians.
- Title VIII: The Fair Housing Act. It covers discrimination in sale, renting, financing, and providing brokerage service.
- Title IX: Prevents intimidation in fair housing cases.

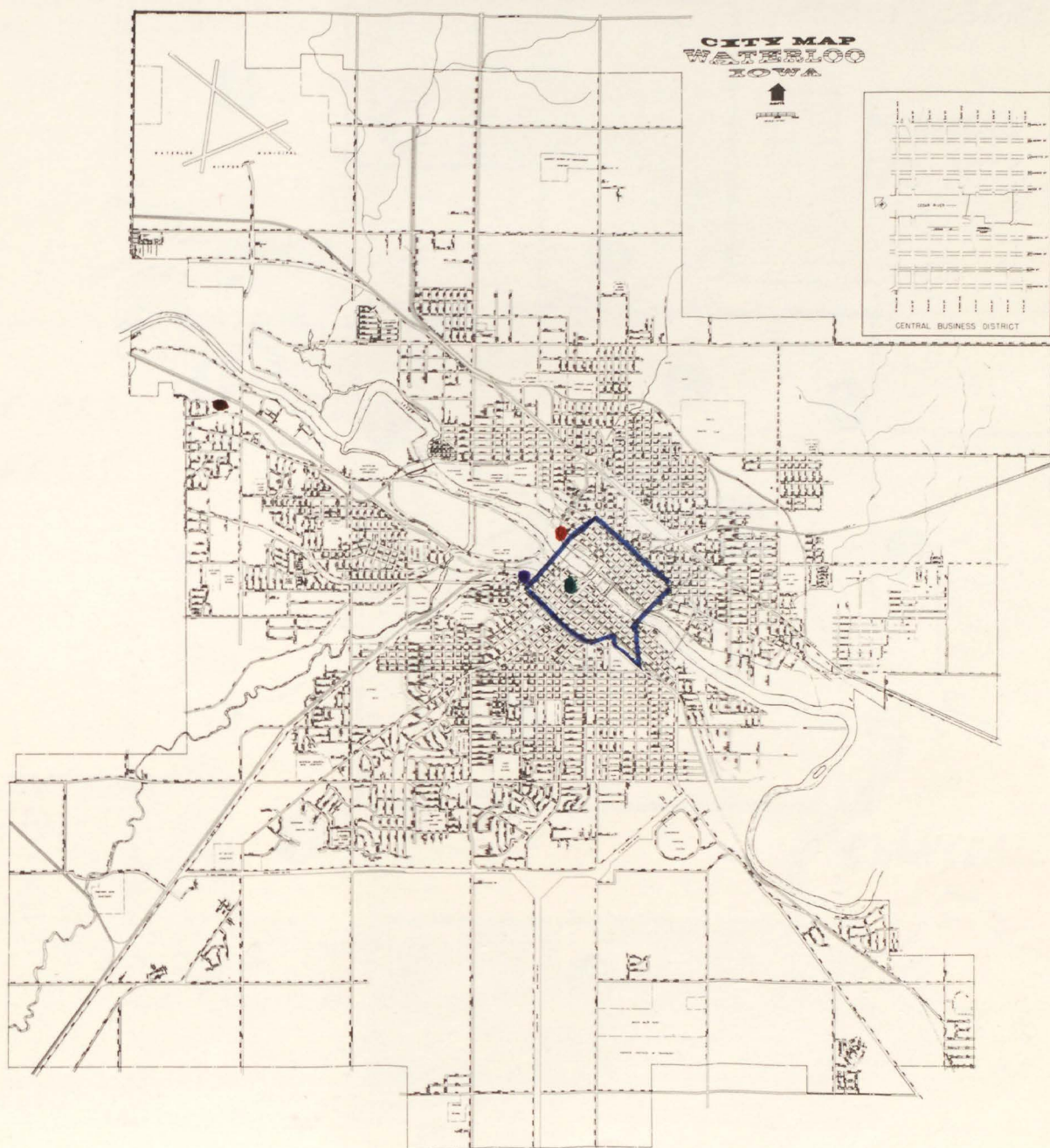
¹Condensed from United States Statutes at Large, Vol. LXXXII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 73 ff.

Title X: The Civil Disobedience Act of 1968 covering
civil disorders.

On October 21, 1968, Congress voted \$2 million to
the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development for expenses
necessary to carry out his Office under Title VIII.

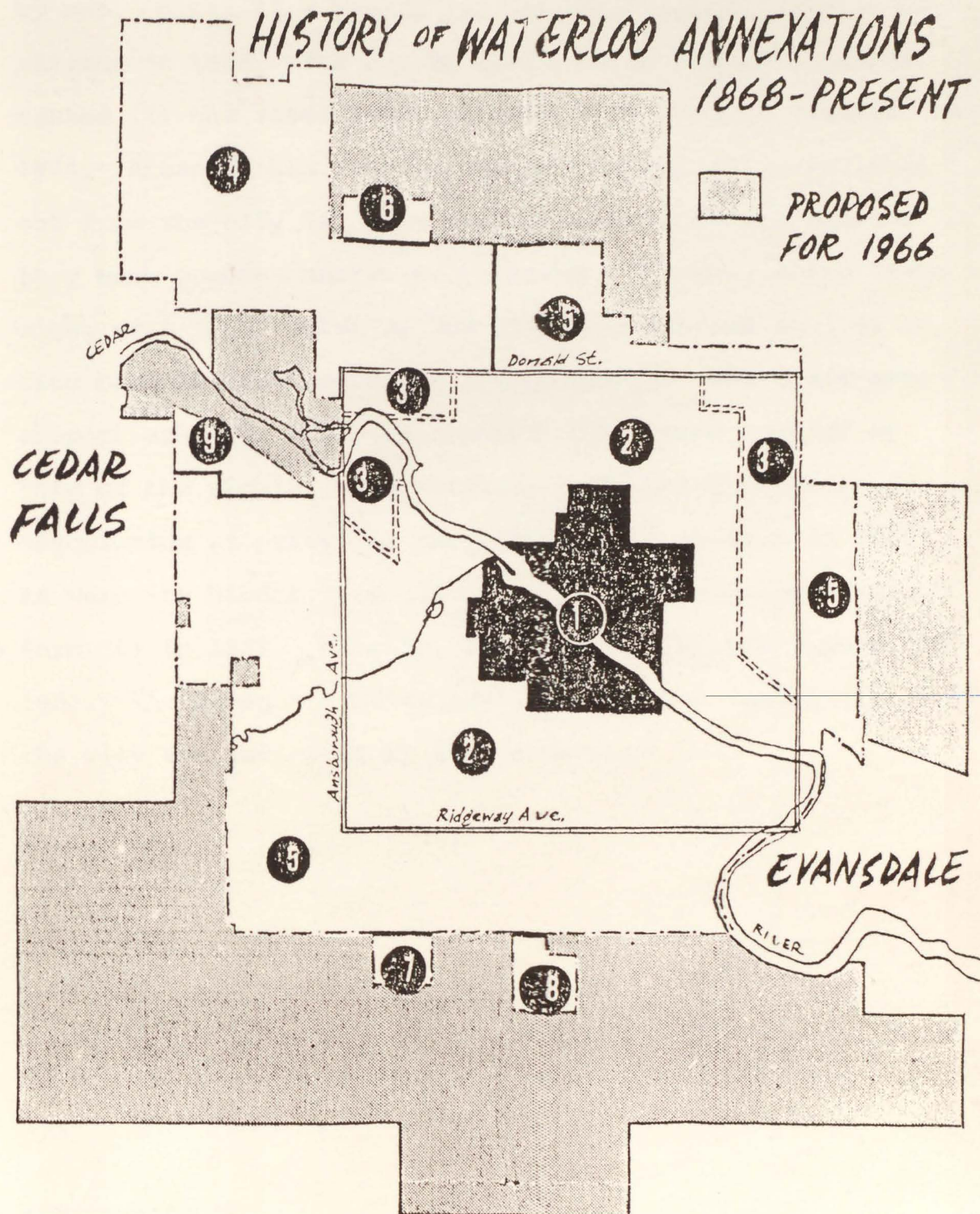
APPENDIX C

EARLY WATERLOO PLAT AND HOMES OF EARLY SETTLERS



- City Boundaries
- Hanna's First Cabin
- Hanna Home
- Mullan Home
- Virden Home

APPENDIX D

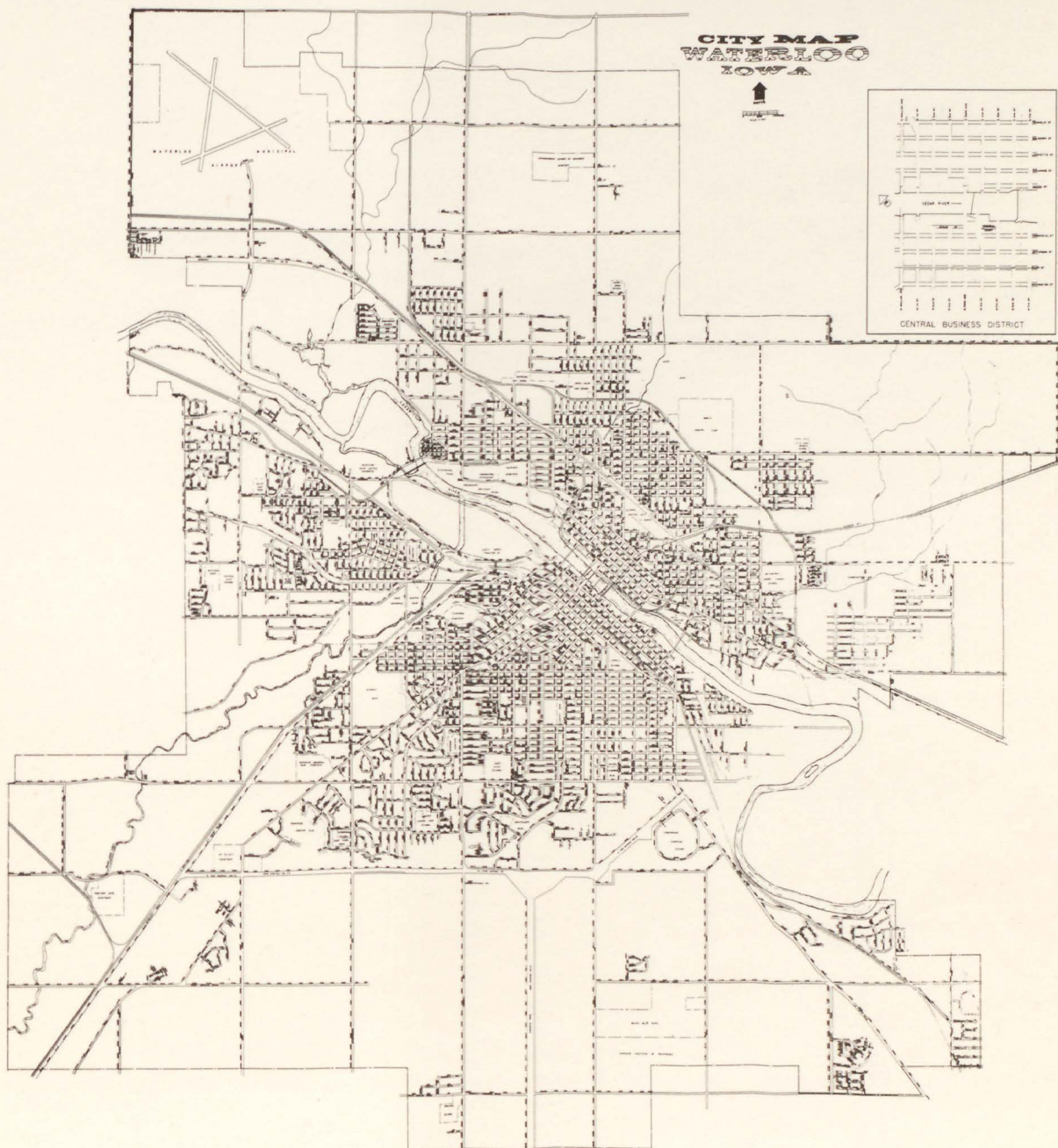


See notes on p. 292.

Growth of Waterloo city limits by annexation is traced by map. Black area marked (1) is the original area incorporated in 1868. The square outlined in double lines and marked (2) was voted into the city by a special election in 1904. Areas within the same bounds marked (3) were later cut from the city by court action because owners alleged they were predominantly agricultural. However these areas along with 7,400 acres marked (5) were annexed in 1949 by City Council resolution and court action. The 3,864-acre airport area (4) had been annexed five years earlier by vote of the people. The Waterloo Industrial Development Association property (6) was voluntarily annexed in 1956 as were the Winder farm (7) the same year and the Prentice farm (8) in 1957. Finally, Castle Hill (9) was annexed in 1961. The 25-square miles now proposed for annexation by the city are indicated by dark shading.¹

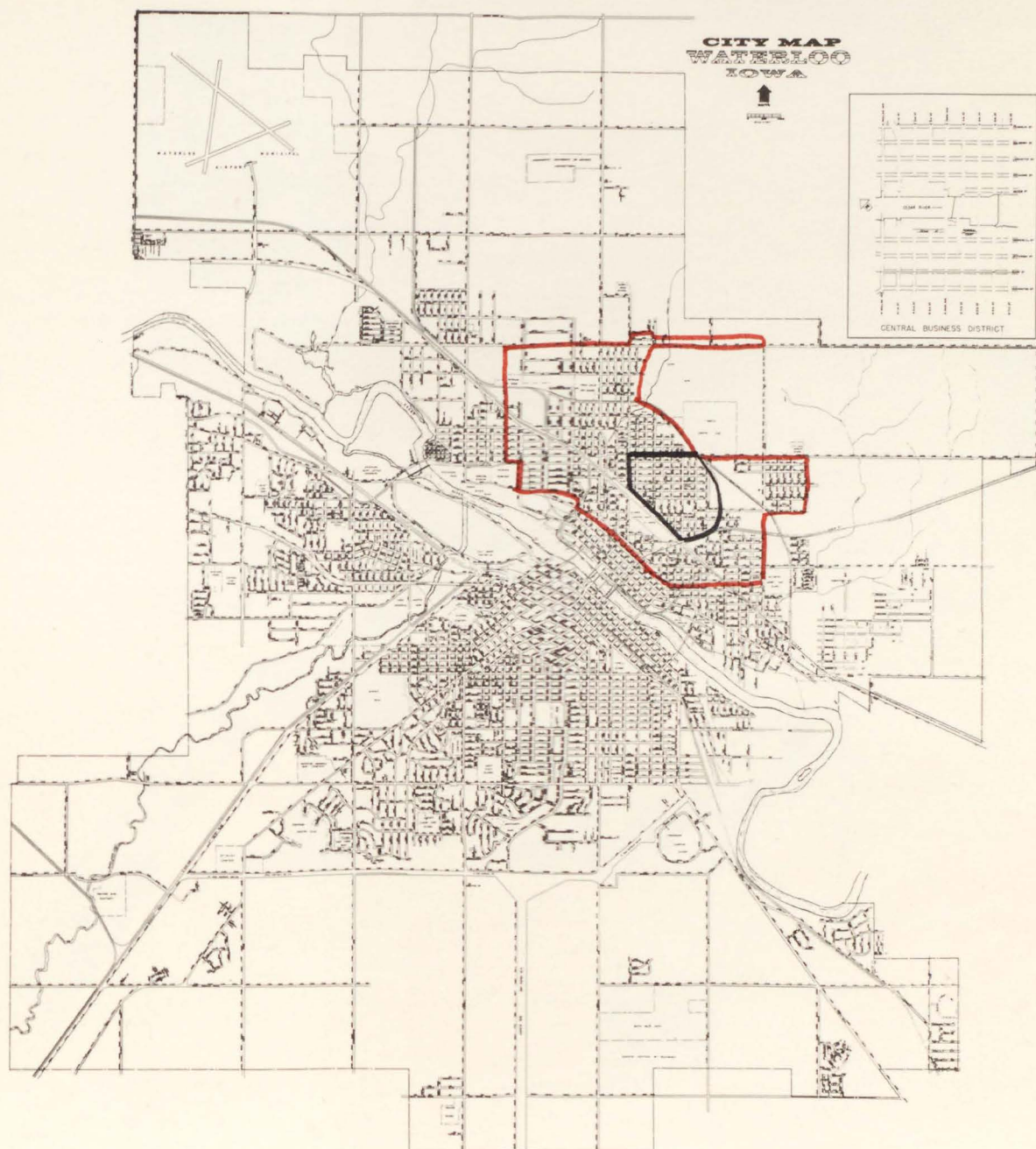
¹Jack Bender, "Waterloo Outlines Case on Annexation," Waterloo Courier, April 17, 1966, p. 21.

APPENDIX E
CITY MAP OF WATERLOO



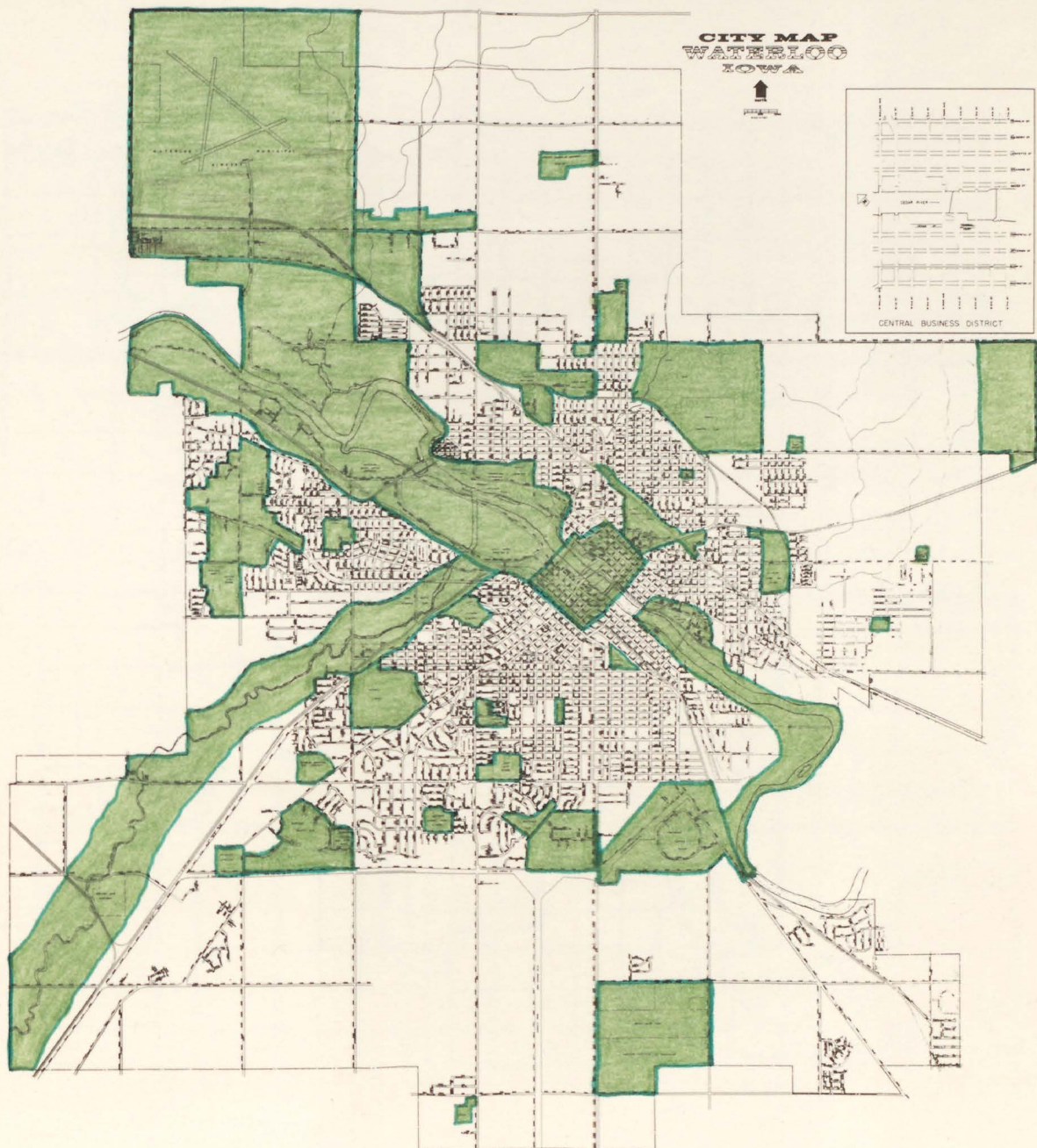
APPENDIX F

BLACK SEGREGATED AND INTEGRATED HOUSING AREAS



APPENDIX G

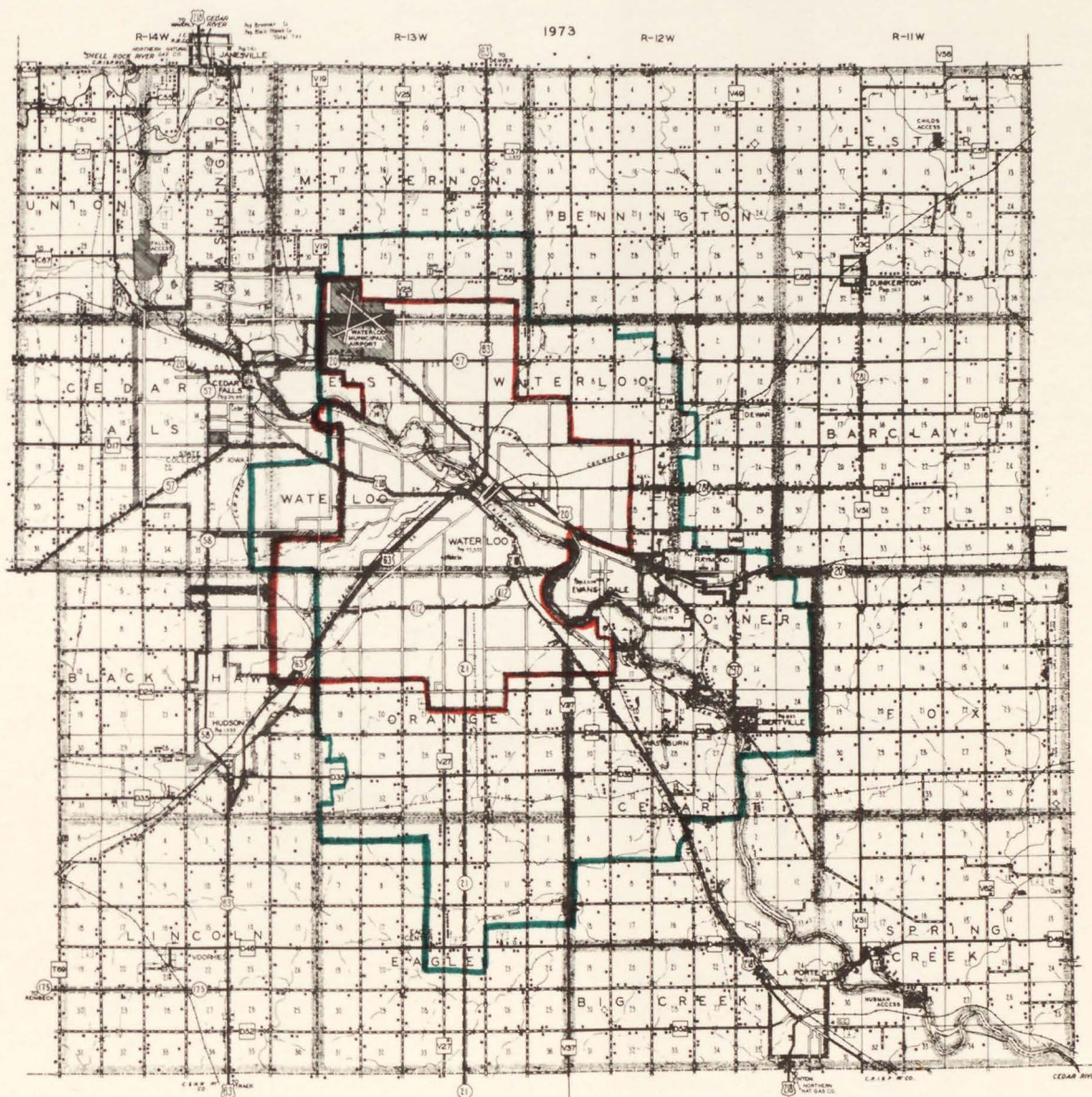
MAP SHOWING LAND NOT AVAILABLE FOR HOUSING



- Land Areas of Over One Square Block Unavailable for Housing

APPENDIX H

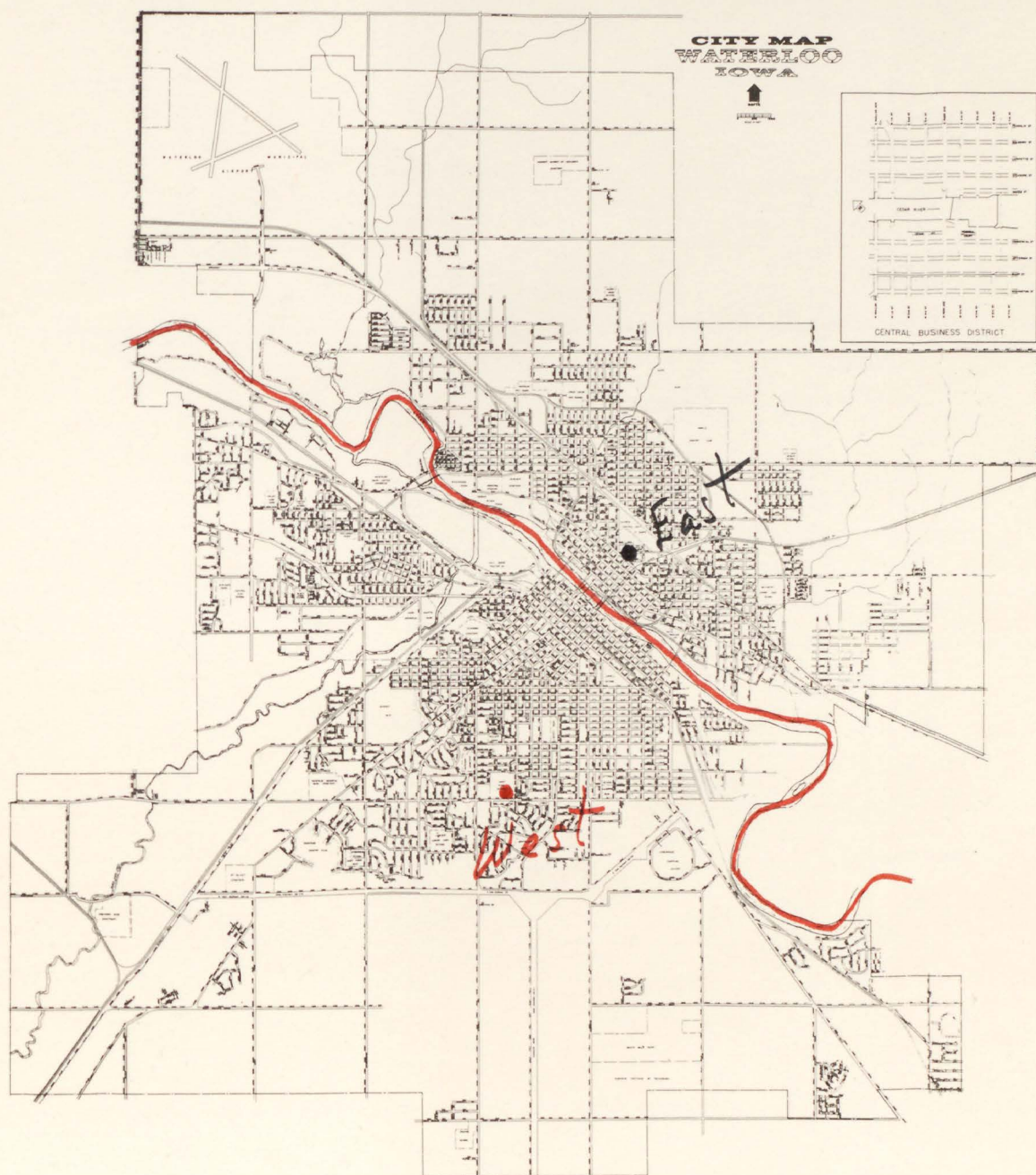
WATERLOO CITY AND SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES



- Waterloo City
- Waterloo School District

APPENDIX I

ORIGINAL WATERLOO SCHOOL DISTRICTS



● East District

● West District

APPENDIX J

PRESENT HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS

